Duquesne University

GERMAN CULTURE CATHOLICISM AND THE WORLD WAR

A DEFENSE AGAINST THE BOOK
LA GUERRE ALLEMANDE ET LE CATHOLICISME

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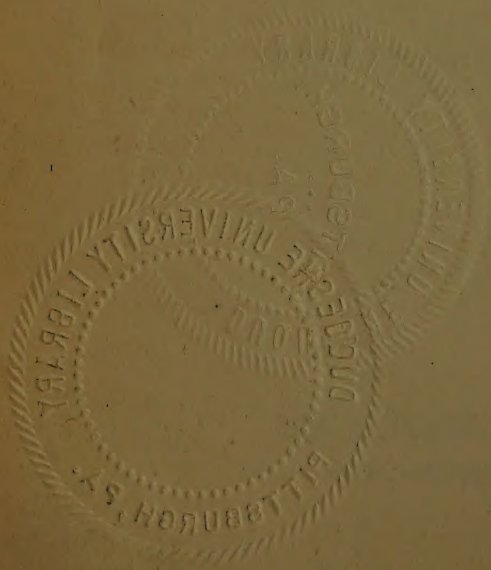

PREFACE TO THE AMERICAN EDITION.

THERE is hardly another word that has been more used, and abused, since the outbreak of the World War, than the word "culture." The English language lacks an adequate term for the German word "Kultur". Long before this war, an author called our English word culture "artificial", expressing "not very happily" what the term implies. For the English, *culture* is above all,—and in a more personal sense—refinement, polish, manners, habits. The German, when speaking of *Kultur*, applies the term in a broad sense to the civilization of a nation as a whole, together with the ideas and ideals on which that civilization is founded; or, as Tylor more correctly than elegantly defined culture: "The list of all the items of the general life of a people represents that whole which we call its culture."

When, in the summer and autumn of the memorable year 1914, passions blinded men, not only in the war-stricken countries but also in neutral America, it was in perfect conformity with the *British* plan of campaign to apply the word culture in its narrow sense and to point, "as 'twere with a defeated joy,—with an auspicious and a dropping eye", to the events in Belgium as manifestations of German culture, arguing along this line of thought: You that have been deluded to admire German culture and to judge German nature by the writings of German philosophers, scientists and poets, the music of German composers, and, perhaps, the German mode of living and the "Gemütlichkeit" about which some travelers made so much ado,—behold German culture as it really is! Whatever hitherto appeared good and true in German nature, —thus the argument proceeded,—is either the result of outward discipline, or else a vague reminiscence of the happy days of yore, when the Germans were self-content philistines leaving it to England to take care of world politics; when the products of German industries enjoyed the distinction of being "ugly and cheap"; and when the trade-mark "Made in Germany" was not yet a nightmare disturbing the slumber of pious Englishmen. Contrary to outward appearances, the Germans of today are of a different type. The vain attempt of their intellectual and political leaders to secure for Germany a place in the sun, has doomed the ill-

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advised nation to the fate of Icarus; their intellectual, moral and political life has degraded; their philosophy of life has become as depraved as modern German music which is so offensive to British ears, accustomed as they are to the aeolian strains of Tipperary. The German statesmen tried to imitate and supersede good old England's God-given mission of shaping the destinies of nations and cunningly advertised what they chose to call German culture, in order to conceal their base designs, and, forsooth, almost succeeded with people who are more naive than the perspicacious Englishmen, ever solicitous for the welfare of mankind. Lo and behold poor little Belgium, "Europe's ewe-lamb" (as an English Dominican-Father pathetically has named it in a blustering pamphlet), trodden down by the iron heels of Prussian militarism which, in fact, is the true exponent of German "culture".

* * *

The *French Catholics,* when they declared literary war on Germany, found the English definition of, and anathema against, German culture to their liking. Aside from every other consideration, this is but natural; for it has ever been the proud boast of Frenchmen that "la grande nation" is setting the pace for civilization. And thus the general staff of "The Catholic Committee for French Propaganda Abroad" set to work to systematize the accusations against Germany and scientifically to trace the brutal forces that so long could beguile the civilized nations under the mask of culture, through the successive stages to their very origin. That which staggered mankind when the German armies rushed victoriously through Belgium and Northern France, is merely the final result of the evolution of German thought applied to practical deeds. German Protestantism is the very negation of Christianity, of Christian civilization, and of all it implies. Even Luther's Protestantism which still showed some traces of Christian ideas, is a thing of the past; what we see revealed in Belgium and France, is the retrogression from Protestantism to genuine paganism. Germanic paganism was only temporarily subdued by Christianity; the old giant, of whom Görres wrote, arose from the grave beneath the rock, to terrify the meek, peaceful, unsuspecting Christian nations.

Or is it Heine who heralded the mighty giant's re-materialization, or Kant, or Nietzsche, or Treitschke, or Bernhardi, or, perhaps,—the "Berliner Blatt"? At any rate, some German has at some time written something similar and thus laid the foundation, on which the scions of the once truly great and admirable science and scholarly erudition of France built their torture-chamber, in which Germany's honor and good name and German Kultur are pilloried and racked and stamped with the stigma

of pagan vandalism. And this wrenched and blood-stained object of horror and woe is then exhibited by the French executioners to the wondering neutrals, while the chorus of the "Comité catholique" shouts its "Sic semper tyrannis!" And Msgr. Baudrillart, M. Goyau, M. Gaudeau and the other heroes of the tragedy announce to the international audience: Civilization is avenged. German "culture" received its just reward. Listen ye, of what it has been guilty: It sought not only to overthrow the kingdom of God and extinguish the stars of heaven (as our illustrious M. Viviani once claimed he did!), but also to bar the progress of all civilization. The splendor of the luminous world-capital on the Seine was to be immersed in the darkness of desolation and oblivion; dense forests, as they covered the hunting-grounds of the forebears of the German vandals, were to shroud the hills and vales of sunny France and of every other civilized country (Serbia, Montenegro, Japan and Russia not excluded); the elk and the aurochs were to graze on the boulevards of Paris; and as the Cimbri and Teutones crossed the Alps, so the Germans of today would, if victorious, cross the oceans and bring ruin and devastation to every land on the globe. But, fortunately, France and her noble allies (and the black and brown and yellow legions of honor from Africa, Asia and Australia) have unfurled the banner of civilization and humanity and democracy, and the labarum of Catholicism; and German "culture" and the German people, not excepting those who continue to call themselves Catholics in spite of being relegated by us with the rest of their tribe to the oak-forests of "Wotan, Odin, Thor", are humiliated to the dust,—although only as far as the success of our literary warfare is concerned.

To be sure, the French literary court-martial shows traces of fairness, compared with the countryman of the judges, Abbé Josèphe Siéyès. While he, on January 17, 1793, voted, in favor of King Louis' execution, for "la mort *sans phrase*", Msgr. Baudrillart and his colleagues cannot be reproached with such laconism. By the way, if M. Goyau who assures us that he has read the entire literature of the last century bearing on the life and the affairs of Germany, would in hours of leisure direct his attention to the period of unfortunate King Louis, he might discover to his amazement that Henri Gregoire, by the grace of a plebiscite "bishop" of Blois, plumed himself on having created the word "vandalisme", without, however, having the Germans in mind, but speaking of his countrymen's deeds. It is a singular spectacle that the erudite historians and biologists who roam through the darkness of the German primeval forests, in order to prove by atavism that the Germans cannot be but barbarians, prefer the sunny high-roads when wandering through the history of their own country. We should consider it folly to belittle our French

brethren of today by conjuring up the dark and horrible times of a more recent past than the glorious days of Clovis and "la pucelle" (who, by the way, was dragged into the mire by Voltaire and even by the Sweet Swan of Avon, and glorified by our own Schiller). But being told that German Protestantism and barbarism are the enemies of mankind in general, and of Catholic France in particular, we beg leave to remind Msgr. Baudrillart and his staff of the fact that, although the phrase itself is of a more recent date, French politics since nearly 150 years, and almost uninterruptedly, have been governed by the idea that "le *clericalisme* c'est l'ennemi" (Gambetta).

* * *

However, it is not the *German* way to point only to the faults of one's neighbor, while writing one's own evil manners in water and one's own virtues in brass. We are not unmindful of the fact that much that today is said against Germany and the Germans, seems to be a just retribution for offenses of the past. Forty-five years ago, a memorial of the German bishops protested vigorously against the contention of German Protestants that the war of 1870-71, as well as that of 1866, was a religious war brought about by the Catholics, in order to overthrow "Protestant" Prussia with the aid of France and Austria respectively. And who has not heard of numberless other cavilous calumnies preferred by anti-religious and Protestant fanatics in Germany against the Catholics and the Catholic Church; or of the harbingers of a culture built on a cornerstone different from that of Christianity, and of their efforts to make the arts, the press, the school, and the State itself subservient to their cause? Neither did these assaults entirely fail. But the unprejudiced and discerning observer will not claim that anti-religious and anti-Catholic movements are phenomena peculiar to Germany; and any one who knows, even superficially, the history of the last decades, will bear witness to the valor of the German Catholics in defending their Church and their faith.

The writers of the present "apologia", while refuting the French accusations and ascertaining the true nature of German Kultur, do not excuse evils existing in their country; more than once they turn to their compatriots, to point out their shortcomings and failings. This makes our book all the more interesting and instructive. Of course, neither the writers, nor the publishers of the American edition, pretend that conditions as they prevail in Germany, are absolutely ideal in every respect. By praising the union of Church and State, for instance, or the education of the clergy in State Universities, they obviously do not intend to disparage our American institutions. In asking their fellow-Catholics in

neutral countries for a just hearing, the German Catholics do not disregard Bishop Faulhaber's prudent admonition that one should not square the habits, customs, and the conditions in general, of another country and another nation, by the standards of his own country. For, it is a postulate of fairness and justice to evaluate conditions in any country as results of historic evolution, although, of course, not denying free agency in the sense in which the Socialist speaks of economic determinism, but taking into account men's endeavors and responsibilities and, in case of an unsatisfactory state of things, differentiating between the shortcomings of the present generation and those of bygone days.

* * *

After the German Committee, whose organization was necessitated by the propaganda of the French Catholics, had published its first defensive reply,—"The German War and Catholicism". Am. Edition. Wanderer Printing Co., St. Paul, 1916,—many a Catholic expressed the hope that the strife would cease. But the French Committee, far from acknowledging their rashness and injustice, published not only a rejoinder, but also a new book,—"L'Allemagne et les alliés devant la conscience Chrétienne",—not to mention the joint pastoral letter of the Belgian bishops and numerous inofficial pamphlets and hundreds of articles in the French, British and American press,—all tending to perpetuate the hatred of the German name. Germany must be conquered; if this cannot be done by cannon and sword, pen and ink must do it; if her armies cannot be crushed, she must be made an outcast,—which, needless to say, is in accordance with England's design after the termination of the war to isolate Germany by an economic war,—provided she still has the strength for such an undertaking.

The reasons why we *German-American* Catholics assist our co-religionists in Germany in their endeavors to defend themselves against the French accusations, are given in our foreword to "The German War and Catholicism". It is with a feeling of still greater satisfaction that we submit the present volume to the American readers. Some day, war will cease and peace will prevail. Let us hope that the deluge of hatred and lies and calumnies also will recede, and that men and nations will find anew the roads on which in better days they pilgrimed together to shrines of common worship. May this book be instrumental in fostering the friendship between the Catholics of America and those of Germany and, wherever this friendship may have been clouded by the vexing agitation of the last twenty months, in bringing about the renewal of the pleasant relations that formerly existed; and may it, furthermore, enable our English speaking brethren in the faith to realize the just indignation of

the German-American Catholics over the calumnies that are hurled at the German name and everything German which, without impairing our loyalty to the Stars and Stripes, we cherish as precious heritage.

* * *

It is my pleasant duty to thank all those who assisted me in publishing this book, especially those who joined me in the difficult task of translating the following essays from the flexible and expressive German, with its unlimited power of development and word-combination, into the more restricted English language. I am well aware of the inferiority of the translation compared with the original edition, some chapters of which are master-pieces of modern German prose; but I trust that the kind reader will pay more attention to the information which the authors wish to convey, than to the more or less inadequate style of the translation.

Joseph Matt.

St. Paul, Minn., May 1, 1916.

FOREWORD

IT IS the peculiarity of the present world war that it has become a war also against all German culture. France has not been ashamed to extend it also into the field of religion.

She has raised the accusation that Germany is in theory and practice the enemy of Catholicism, often even of all Christianity; that Germany regards this war as a war for the extermination of Catholicism and Christianity, and conducts it as such.

The first great attack upon our religious life and its achievements, after having been prepared for some time by newspaper and magazine articles, was delivered in the book *"The German War and Catholicism,"* which appeared in April of this year (1915). It was not an irresponsible attack by a few over-excited franctireurs, but the well-planned and organized action of wide and influential Catholic circles in France, "the élite of French Catholics." Not only do two French cardinals and nine French bishops belong to the Catholic committee under whose "high patronage" the book was published, but Cardinal Archbishop Amette of Paris, in his introductory words, expressly assumes the role of ecclesiastical guarantor of the persons of the contributors and of the contents of their essays.

This attack of French Catholicism, as represented by its committee, which did not spare even the honor of German Catholics, we purpose merely to repel, not to reciprocate. We shall not allow ourselves to return attack for attack, but we feel it our sacred duty to ourselves, to our Catholic contemporaries and to Catholic posterity, to defend ourselves especially in this field.

After some preparatory conferences with his colleagues in Freiburg, which the editor brought about on the 4th of June, the following gentlemen met for a conference in Coblenz on June 14

and 15: Michael von Faulhaber, Bishop of Speyer, Privy-counselor Finke, professor in the University of Freiburg, Msgr. Mausbach, professor in the University of Muenster, Professor Schrörs of the University of Bonn, and the undersigned. At this conference, among other things, the publication of these articles of defense and their translation into foreign languages for the purpose of giving them the widest possible publicity, was decided upon. To pave the way for carrying this resolution into effect those present constituted themselves an editorial committee. For the papers presented, although they have passed through the hands of the editorial committee, our esteemed collaborators alone bear the full responsibility. Translations of the book will appear in English, French, Dutch, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish.

It has been our aim, throughout this work, to go far beyond the needs of defense against the passionate din of war-born hatred whose sorry product we have had constantly before our eyes, and to create a book of permanent worth. We wanted it to show, in a positive way, what we Germans and particularly we German Catholics really are, what we have achieved of true civilization, and what may and should be expected of us with certainty, also in those matters in which we are deficient.

Freiburg i. Br., Nov. 30, 1915.

In the name of the Editorial Committee,

Georg Pfeilschifter.

THE FRENCH BOOK

I. La Guerre Allemande et le Catholicisme.

Ouvrage publié sous la direction de

Mgr Alfred Baudrillart

Recteur de l'Institut Catholique de Paris

et sous le haut Patronage du

Comité Catholique de Propagande Française à l'Étranger.

Paris, Bloud et Gay 1915. XII et 298 pages in 8. Prix 2 Francs 40 net.

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p. v —vii. Lettre de S. Ém. le Cardinal Amette, Archevêque de Paris (le 11 Avril 1915).

p. ix —xii. Avertissement par Alfred Baudrillart.

p. 1— 30. Bernard Gaudeau, Les Lois Chrétiennes de la Guerre.

p. 32— 46. Georges Goyau, La "Culture" Germanique et le Catholicisme.

p. 47— 80. Un Missionaire, Le Rôle Catholique de la France dans le Monde.

p. 81—140. François Veuillot, La Guerre aux Églises et aux Prêtres.

p. 141—214. La Religion dans l'Armée française.

- p. 141—149. H. Couget, L'Aumônerie militaire et la Situation canonique des Prêtres dans l'Armée française. La Piété des Prêtres-soldats.
- p. 150—190. G. Ardant, La Religion de nos Soldats: notes d'un aumônier militaire.
- p. 191—214. A. Baudrillart, De la Profondeur du Mouvement religieux qui s'est manifesté dans l'Armée française et comment les Oeuvres Catholiques de jeunesse l'ont préparé.

p. 215—280. Documents Pontificaux et Épiscopaux relatifs à la Guerre.

p. 280—286. Réponse de l'Université (= Institut) Catholique de Paris au Manifeste de représentants de la Science et de l'Art Allemands.

p. 287—295. Liste des Ecclésiastiques et des Religieux tués à ou par l'ennemi.

p. 297—298. Table des matières.

This work will be quoted in our book by giving the page-number in parenthesis.

II. Under the same title there appeared from the same publishers:

ALBUM Nr I. Documents photographiques illustrant la conduite respective des armées allemande et française à l'égard de l'église Catholique.

(32 pages in 4. Prix 1 Franc 20 net.)

p. 2— 8. I. En Belgique.

p. 9—20. II. En France.

p. 21—25. III. Attentats sacrilèges.

p. 26—27. IV. Interventions providentielles.

p. 28—32. V. L'Armée française et l'Église.

The Album will be quoted in our book with the letter A and the page-number in parenthesis.

A German translation of the two French works appeared in the late fall, 1915, in the same makeup and from the same publisher. We could not take it into account, as ours was already printed when it reached us.

THE FIRST GERMAN REPLY.

Der deutsche Krieg und der Katholizismus.
Deutsche Abwehr französischer Angriffe.

Published by German Catholics.

Authorized American Edition, St. Paul, 1916, Wanderer Printing Co.:

THE GERMAN WAR AND CATHOLICISM. A GERMAN DEFENSE AGAINST FRENCH ATTACKS.

Foreword to the American Edition (p. 3-8).

Memorial of German Catholics in reply to the French book: "La Guerre allemande et le Catholicisme" (p. 15-16).

A. J. Rosenberg, The False Accusations of French Catholics against Germany. A reply to the book: "La Guerre allemande et le Catholicisme" (p. 17-94).

The work of Rosenberg will be quoted in this book with **Rosenberg.**

1. The Declaration of Literary Warfare by the French Catholics.

By Professor Dr. Joseph *Mausbach*, Muenster.

THE VIOLENT excitement of national passion has unfortunately brought with it also a serious disturbance in the peaceful relations of the intellectual life of mankind. The Muses are not only condemned to silence as is wont in the noise and din of warfare, they must even suffer that their own domain become the scene of warfare and that the community of intellectual goods and aims be brusquely denounced and disrupted. Many hold that it should have been quite enough to return the military and political decorations that had been awarded by the enemy; however, even decorations and titles awarded for scientific attainments have been discarded and it has been considered a duty to exclude foreign celebrities from membership in the academies of the learned. But even more painful and deplorable is the fact that, with the appearance of the book, "La Guerre Allemande et le Catholicisme," the religious unity and peace among the Catholics of the world was seriously threatened and endangered. Surely it is not surprising that Catholics in the belligerent countries stand in close union with their fellow-citizens and are more or less carried away, each according to his own temperament, by the warlike sentiments of the country in general. But it is something new and unheard of heretofore that the faithful Catholics of one country stand forth as such and, under the leadership of prominent princes of the Church and learned men, raise the most terrible accusations against another country; it is painful and unbearable for every lover of peace and for every Catholic that in the face of all Christendom they stamp this nation, because, forsooth, it is at war with France, as the declared foe of all morality and religion, and in so doing, explicitly condemn the Catholics of this country as accomplices.

Must not such a proceeding conjure up the greatest danger to religious peace on earth? He who seizes upon the sacred as a shield

to protect himself against the fierce onslaughts of the war is exposing the sacred itself to the mad fury and violence of the war. He who raises religion as a standard and uses it as a means to incite hesitating friends that he may thereby the more surely give the deadly blow to his hated foe, makes himself responsible for the indignant and angry defense, in which the sacred standard itself is then trampled in the dust. Not to mention the scandal German Protestants are receiving from the spectacle of this dissension in the Church whose proud boast and whose imposing grandeur is its unity, would it not be perfectly intelligible if they were to reply to this calumny, which is openly promoted under Catholic and ecclesiastical auspices, by a sharp attack on Catholicism?

Must not the twenty-four million German Catholics be grieved in their inmost soul that it is just their Catholic brethren in France who have thrown the apple of religious discord among men and who everywhere incite Catholic thought and sentiment to hatred and contempt of Germany? Heretofore there has been some consolation for pious and peaceful-minded souls in the midst of all the horrors of war: the peculiar grouping of the belligerent nations precluded all thought of a religious war and all fear of an enkindling of the sullen embers of bloody religious fanaticism. The authors of the above-mentioned work have done their best to rob mankind also of this consolation. But, thanks be to God! the evidence of hard facts is too overpowering for the efforts to impress a religious character on this war to be successful. No half-way reasonable person will ever be persuaded that "the stake" for which Serbia, Russia, France and England are fighting this war "is the kingdom of God in human souls" (28). And thanks be to God, also the Protestants in Germany have enough practical sense and calm judgment to discern the artificiality and the hopelessness of the French crusade, and to recognize the true causes and underlying purposes of the war. Above all, however, let it be noted that the German Catholics will never allow themselves to be carried away so far as to accept the challenge to a religious war; they refuse to attribute to their opponents in this world war the motive of moral barbarism and religious hatred in the way in which the authors of this book have attributed it to Germany. They will limit their efforts to the vindication of their honor as Catholics and Germans, and to warding off the accusation that has been hurled against them in the face of all Christendom. They are convinced that in so doing they are rendering most valuable service to the cause of truth and justice and to the Catholic Church.

It might be assumed that the great achievements of German science, education, technics and social welfare work are sufficiently known to the world, that the fidelity to faith and the active piety of the German Catholics has been recognized as blameless and, in some respects, exemplary by the highest ecclesiastical authority; that, therefore, a special refutation of the charges of barbarism and religious inferiority is needless and superfluous. However, it can not be denied that the German mind and manners, the German language and literature are lacking that facile address and ingratiating way which everywhere paves the way for things French. To make matters worse for Germany there has been, for a long time, a ubiquitous, bold and tireless propaganda on the part of England and France to win over foreign nations to their ideals and aims. Hence all classes of the German people today recognize it as their duty to labor more actively for the dissemination of a true knowledge of German thought and German life. Indeed, our opponents themselves are striving to show, in cleverly-worded speeches, that they are fighting not against the justifiable influence and the valuable contributions of German civilization to the civilization of the world, but against its presumptuous pretensions to "world empire." The German Catholics, therefore, owe it to themselves to defend their religious honor against distressing calumnies. After all that Catholic faith, zeal and piety has experienced and achieved on German soil in the last century; after all that the Catholic world has learned of their sentiments and their constancy since the "Kulturkampf," German Catholics may not hide their light under the bushel at this mighty turning-point of history. They would be guilty of giving scandal were they to pocket in silence the reproach of religious stagnation and moral decay, which their opponents plan to spread against them in six languages; silence under these circumstances would appear as the silence of assent or of a guilty conscience.[1]

According to the preface of the French book, Germany is "the theoretical and practical opponent of Catholicism and often enough also of all Christianity." In proof of this the author appeals to "the teachings of the intellectual leaders of Germany," the philosophers, thinkers and learned men (XI). The apologetic defense of German Catholicism is therefore primarily a matter of honor for the Catholic savants of Germany. As we have already pointed out, it is an *apology* that we undertake in this reply, not a *controversy*.

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1 The French Protestants followed the example of the French Catholics. They, too, formed a committee and sent out a circular letter in which they protest against the injustice and the cruelties of the German "assault." But they seem to confine themselves to condemning the war and the German method of warfare, without attacking the religion of German Protestants and Catholics. Cf. Koelnische Volkszeitung 1915. No. 666.

As the titles show, none of the essays accepted into this book departs from this program of defense and positive justification of things German. Naturally no apology, if it would be striking and convincing, will dispense with the use of antithesis, the comparison between one's own and the opponent's position, with the *argumentum ad hominem*. This occasional polemic is not the end; it is only a methodical means of all positive apologetic. But even at that we wish to avoid everything offensive in this book; we wish to refrain strictly from that tone of hostile abuse into which the French book of accusations, unfortunately, too often falls.

But was this accusation really a *declaration of war,* an attack upon us which we may term a breach of the peace in the moral order? It will take a long time before historians and nations agree on the origin of the political war; but it is beyond all doubt and dispute that the inglorious honor of "having begun hostilities" on the field of intellect and religion belongs to France. Catholic Germany had been guilty of no act that could be interpreted as a challenge. Our bishops spoke not a single word injurious to foreign brethren in religion in their proclamations to their people. They took advantage of the seriousness and patriotic enthusiasm created by the war to excite and deepen the religious life of the German people; but they were constantly mindful of the unity of faith and of the supremacy of the kingdom of God over all earthly politics. Nor is there any other responsible Catholic body in Germany which, as such, conducted itself in a manner hostile to France. The famous declaration of the "93 Intellectuals" evidently did not receive the character of a Catholic pronouncement from the fact that a number of Catholic scholars participated in it. Like all the other signers, they signed as "representatives of German art and science." No German Catholic would have taken offense, if the authors of "La Guerre Allemande" had participated in a like manner in patriotic protests of their fellow-citizens. Their fatal mistake was that they developed a specifically Catholic action under ecclesiastical auspices for the purpose of exposing the enemies of France as the enemies of Catholicism. In a rejoinder of July 13 the Committee asserts our "agencies for spreading lies" compelled them to vindicate the honor of France in the eyes of their "Catholic brethren" in other countries. But there is no such "agency" of a Catholic character in Germany, whose aim is to create sentiment amongst Catholic neutrals; moreover, all German news bureaus have been rendered almost powerless over against our enemies' lies by England's unscrupulous cutting off of cable service and by the tyrannical domination of the English

and the French press. I may go further and say that all Catholic scholars of any prominence, be they ecclesiastical or lay, who have personally published their views or speeches regarding the war, have displayed a calmness and objectivity that never descends to expressions of fury and hatred. I myself have made it my rule in all such publications to test each sentence for the purpose of appreciating how it will affect intellectual foreigners at the present time and my own self ten years hence. Messrs. Schroers, Finke, Esser, Schulte, Pfeilschifter, Krebs, Hilgenrainer, Ruland, Schmidlin, Brauns and others have adopted the same principle and remained faithful to it. Whoever, in days to come, compares the theological war-literature of our days, as it appears in pastoral letters, pamphlets, addresses and magazine articles will find a most striking contrast between the German and the French; here a passionate chauvinism, overflowing into the domain of religion; there a calm, self-possessed manner of thought and feeling, guided and controlled by objective consideration of facts and religious love of peace. Even in our days this impression has been received in the strongest manner by such a critical mind as that of G. Morin.[2]

It is evident that we can not expect nor demand that the daily press observe at all times the same calmness and restraint. In it the most diverse voices have their say, and the expression of the community's sentiments can be gathered only from the combination of the sober and the passionate, the agreeable and the shrill tones. But how lofty and dignified are the German journals, especially the Catholic, beside the Paris papers, always more passionate by nature, but now completely beside themselves on account of the war! And withal let us note this: the impromptu indignation of the German people and the hatred of its war-songs were directed from the beginning against England, not against France, because the German people thought it saw in the latter a greater love of peace, nobler motives and more chivalrous methods of warfare. Therefore it accorded to France a higher measure of respect and chivalrous treatment.

Hence Germany's accusers must go back farther if they would show German Catholics in the wrong. We Germans, they say, have for *a long time back* wrapped ourselves in the mantle of virtue, after the manner of the Pharisees, and exultingly pointed to France as an atheistic, immoral country, and we continue, even during the war, to curry the favor of the neutral Catholics with this "impudent"

2 Cf. his criticism of the French book in the Theologische Revue 14 (1915) pp. 266 et seq.

catch-word (IX, 49, 75). Also this argument can not stand. For, as the authors themselves complain, the same legendary fabrications, the same disparaging and malevolent criticism of France is found also in the Catholic press of the allied and the neutral countries, in English, Spanish, Italian and other papers. Whence it follows that in this matter the Germans have not been guilty of a particular malice. But the principal consideration in this matter is that the unfavorable judgment, the reproach of infidelity and immorality has never been leveled at Catholic France, which is now gathering itself up for an embittered counter-stroke. It was intended solely for irreligious France and its atheistic government. It was but a repetition of the bitter complaints and reproaches, which the French Catholics themselves have so often and so loudly made against their government. In German Catholic literature, especially in the theological, French Catholicism and its historical merit, its singular genius and its heroism in many fields has always received the most respectful recognition. So, too, have we ungrudgingly rejoiced at the large political, intellectual and artistic activity developed by little Belgium. Moreover we have greeted with heartful joy the important progress which Catholic life and literary activity has made in France since the recent religious oppression, even if we did not share the optimism of some Frenchmen. If now and then somewhat sharper remarks were passed, if our papers and periodicals reminded the French of the manifold ills of their religious life and of the immediate tasks that awaited their religious zeal, this happened almost without exception in connection with the controversy over so-called Integralism, which divided Catholics among themselves in France as well as in Germany, and roused even the best of them to anger. Still, a strong warning to certain Integralist organs, who were calling in question the religious fidelity of German Catholics, that they had better first sweep before their own doors and for the present emulate the positive achievements of German Catholics, was not, by any means, a haughty and pharisaical insult to French Catholicism.

The words of the war book: "One can love one's own country without hating that of others" (47) fits the spirit of German culture and manners perfectly. Germany has always done justice to the good points in others and gratefully submitted to instruction from outside. Above all it is in accord with the attitude of the German Catholics, who have never been followers of a narrow nationalism, but have always known how to appreciate the incomparable blessings, which Christian peace among the nations, the unity of

the Church, and emulation of cultural attainments confer upon individual peoples.

The Scriptural injunction, "Take care of a good name," from which Cardinal Amette derives the justification of the French action, does then, as a matter of fact, lend no support to it, and least of all, to the gross insults which it hurls at Germany. To prove that the good name of France is endangered, the Cardinal adduces no campaign of slander on the part of Germany, but only "the terrible war," the politico-military campaign. Just as the French army is upholding the honor of its colors, so it is the duty of all sons of France to uphold her honor and reputation before the whole world. If this argument is valid, then every just war would give the contending nations the right to declare war against the opponent also in the sphere of thought and religion. As a matter of fact this logic is neither philosophic nor grounded in experience; the impulse to seek moral justification for ourselves and to blacken the moral character of our opponent generally arises rather from the consciousness of the weakness of our own cause, as the French imply in their proverb: *Qui s'excuse, s'accuse.*

The purpose of defense and safe-guarding of the good name and religious honor of France is served by the book "La Guerre Allemande" only in the articles on the missions and on religion in the French army. Their contents would hardly have afforded us reason for a reply and defense. On the contrary, as we have ever acknowledged France's great achievements in the foreign missions, so, too, every Catholic would have greeted the news of the religious revival in its army with heartfelt joy, if it had not appeared framed with injurious accusations against the German troops, and if there had not prevailed in its telling that spirit "of prejudice, of lack of reserve, and of impetuosity" which compels the reader "instinctively to be on his guard even towards what might be of solid value in the book" (Morin).

The Scriptural injunction, "Take care of a good name," means in this case an exhortation to the Germans and particularly to the German Catholics. Their country, their civilization, their Christian life and Catholic fidelity is grossly insulted in this libelous publication before the whole world and the supreme guardians of religion. In order not even seemingly to impair the unity, solidarity and hierarchical order of the teaching-body of the Church, the German bishops have made their defense against these injurious attacks in the form of a protest to the Holy See. But not only the French bishops, also—so the book says—"the most notable, the most intelli-

gent and the best informed'' men of France participated in this public defamation of Germany. Hence it is undoubtedly a duty of German Catholic scholarship to set a solid *objective* refutation over against a book supplied with so many recommendations. The advice to bear this defamation in silence, with philosophic equanimity and Christian patience can come from those only who have not read the entire book, so great and terrible are the offenses charged to Germany. Let us listen to some of these charges.

Although it appeals most strongly to the imagination and the feelings, the worst feature of the book is not its detailed description of innumerable atrocities attributed to our soldiers, nor its acceptance and use of these atrocities as well-established facts on the testimony of prejudiced witnesses or of the so-called *rapports officiels,* that is, of those official announcements, which ought to appear to the French Catholics themselves as *a priori* suspicious after all the sad experience they have had with them and which neutral countries have long since appreciated at their true value. No, its worst feature, the terrible thing is this that these bloody and sacrilegious crimes are set down as the result of the German system, of the German principles of warfare (245). They are set down as proceeding from an unchristian conception of right, as bearing the characteristic stamp of ''anti-religious Sadism'' and ''Satanic hatred'' (101; A 4). The barbarian method of warfare grows out of a philosophy which rejects all Christian principles of morality and law, and exalts the brutal humor of might, aye, substitutes the ''deified Germanic Ego'' in the place of God (25[1]). As Kant and Hegel were formerly, so Haeckel, Ostwald and Nietzsche are now the ''foremost teachers'' of Germany. ''German culture,'' which these men have influenced most strongly, is not only, as a Protestant power, in principle hostile to the Catholic Church (28, 246, 277), it is positively atheistic and pagan, for it rejects all Divine ideals and adores brute strength, the purely natural impulse of might, as typified in the ancient god, Wodan (28, 41 et seq. 52, 77; A 8). Hence it is not astonishing that all truth and moral faith are swept away, and the most sacred agreements and oaths are broken. The invocation of God's assistance by the Emperor for such beginnings must appear as blasphemy (83). Germany's superexaltation of herself naturally leads her to look upon the Slav and the Latin races as inferiors and to despise them, and the ''German war'' has for its purpose the ''extermination'' of the Romanic peoples, thus indirectly threatening also the Catholic Church with destruction (246). The Catholic spirit in Germany is far from being energetic and live enough to resist the trend of

German culture and the resulting "deformation of mind and heart." It lacks above all a guiding and directing force (*force directrice*), despite the great number of faithful, pious Catholics. Through the influence of Prussia the whole of Germany has allowed itself to "be taken in tow by Luther and the heirs of his spirit" (277). The "Kulturkampf" has been much more effective than is commonly believed; large circles of Catholics have been swept along by the *delirium germanicum*, which means their separation from Rome (49)! Modernism, too, had its real roots in Germany, and thus it happened that this heresy created "frightful ravages" among the Catholics of German tongue (29). Just as little as German Catholicism can stand the comparison with the "generous, live and victorious faith of France," just so little can the more or less outward, "self-seeking and dormant religion" of Austria stand beside it (65).

How ridiculous it is, then, that this Germany should consider itself as the "chosen people" and its enemies as the reprobate Chanaan (272)! France alone is and remains the most faithful daughter, the advance-guard of the Church, despite all her errors, which after all touch only the surface (XII, 277 et seq.). In view of France's past and present merits it is not presumptuous to say: "God needs France."

The present enmity and separation between Church and State is more a "political fiction" than a religious actuality (29). And whence, pray, comes this enmity but from Germany, the home of that false philosophy which severs the bond between God and man? —from Germany whose famed chancellor, after having humbled France politically, conceived the diabolic plan of ruining her religiously by injecting the virus of the "Kulturkampf." Fortunately this infection has already been for the most part eliminated. Besides, the war has stirred the Catholic conscience of France so powerfully that it can be said: "With a few inevitable exceptions the whole of France is now praying!" (28[1], 279). France's war is a war for the "Catholic principle;" France's victory is the victory of the Catholic and Christian idea! It is true today as it was in the days of Joan of Arc that "to fight against France is to fight against God" (30).

We shall not discuss whether neutral Catholics will discover in these allegations the calm and dignified tone of truth and power, nor whether they will remark that they hail not from "barbarian" Germany but from the "land of chivalry" (17). We must, likewise, leave it to the idiosyncrasy of the French mind whether some of those who have attached their name to the book will not be ashamed

of themselves and terrified when they read these fanatical effusions in compressed and connected form. But there is one tribunal to which we may appeal in this matter, and we may do it all the more confidently the more the authors have been introduced to us as "men of most correct doctrine and faith" (VI), and the more insistently the absolute and universal validity of the moral law is emphasized in the first essay. This tribunal is the *Christian moral law* and the *moral conscience* which it determines. The injunction which is placed at the beginning of the book and which imposes upon us the duty to have a care for *our* good name is far less stressed in the preaching of the Church and in the teaching of moralists than the repeated and strict admonition not to attack rashly or lightly the honor and *good name of our neighbor.* "Judge not, that ye be not judged. . . . . Why seest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, and perceivest not the beam that is in thine own eye?" (Matth. 7, 1, 3). "But why judgest thou thy brother? or why dost thou despise thy brother?" (Rom. 14, 10.) Over against the inspirations of vanity and selfishness, anger and envy the Christian moral law lays it down not only as the sacred duty of love but also of strict justice to accept *facts* that make our fellow-man appear evil in our own and others' eyes, as true only upon sufficient proof. It is not my task to show how little was done, in the atrocity reports received into this book, to meet this requirement, which is at the same time also a law of scientific criticism. Rosenberg, in his rejoinder to the French book, shattered the fact foundation on which the accusations against the German code of morality were based, as Father Morin points out, "by victorious refutations, authentically established facts and an abundance of documents." And wherever this trained historian proceeds to verify individual assertions, he discovers, just as the French scholar does, an "absolute lack of critique and impartiality." However, we do not wish to deny the immense difficulties surrounding this question of facts; we can readily understand, how, in the midst of the intense excitement which the war in Belgium created on all sides, false or exaggerated tales of atrocities could be passed on and received in good faith in France. But there is another and more important moral law, which demands that, even when the facts are certain and objectively inexcusable, we should not immediately infer *evil intent*, subjective malice and depravity. St. Augustine and St. Thomas agree that, in case of uncertainty regarding this aspect of evil, we are *bound* to prefer the milder interpretation, *the interpretatio in meliorem partem,*[3] to the severer one.

3 St. Augustine, Sermo Dni in monte II, n. 59. cf. Enarr. in Ps. 147, n. 16. St. Thomas, Summa Theol. 2, 2, q. 60, a. 4.

I ask then: How does the French book stand in the light of this requirement of the moral law? Is not its whole spirit, its mode of procedure from beginning to end diametrically opposed to it? For, indeed, it goes far beyond even that instinctive injustice with which the uncivilized man condemns as malicious a deed of his fellow-man by which he considers himself injured; it interprets German misdeeds—philosophically, as it were—as a *system* of barbarism and malice, and swells the sins of individuals to a *community vice*, to barbarism and godlessness of the German people as a whole.

At every step we meet with this harsh, unjust judging and condemning, as the synopsis given above amply shows. There is a passionate "impetuosity" of thought and inference, in which logic weakens and the worst fault of judgment manifests itself—*self-contradiction.* In one place a collaborator makes the reasonable remark that all wars breed violence, and atrocities are therefore even more inevitable in a war where the opposing armies number millions (254 et seq.); in another place this fact of experience is ignored, and the writers indulge unrestrainedly the sorry craving to deduce such misdeeds from a sacrilegious or sadistic disposition and method.

There exists, so we read in another place, a law of solidarity, according to which the innocent must on earth often suffer with the guilty, and so the commander in a war may be compelled to decree retaliatory measures against entire communities on account of the crimes of a few. But immediately after this piece of wisdom is forgotten, and the Germans are credited with most evil intentions—murder of children and desecration of sanctuaries—when they throw bombs. If it be really true that Germany's responsibility for this terrible war is *"evident* to every thinking man" (21), how can it be explained that the whole German people, also Southern Germany and Austria, the Catholic rulers of Austria, Bavaria, and Saxony, the Centre Party, the German clergy and religious orders are all most firmly convinced of the justice of Germany's declaration of war? How could it be intelligible that not only the German part of Switzerland and sober, neutral Sweden, but also and especially *Catholic* Spain extend their sympathies to the German people and her glorious military achievements; that in Italy, too, the repugnance to join in the war against Germany was strongest where the Catholic consciousness is most pure and vigorous? How blind and prejudiced must they be who see in the fact that Germany was best prepared for the mobilization and beginning of the war a proof "as clear as day" of Germany's savage lust for attack and England's, France's and Russia's guiltlessness! As if there were not other universally known

reasons to account for this fact! On the one hand, the strict discipline and thorough organization of the German military department, which provides for preparedness at all moments, even in times of deepest peace; on the other hand, the defective organization, the power of illusion, the slacker discipline and fidelity to duty of the officials on the side of our opponents. But it was chiefly the anti-German policy pursued by England since the days of Edward VII and the growing desire of revenge on the part of France, which received its symbolic expression when President Poincaré laid a silver sword on the tomb of Alexander III, and in other significant ways—it was these policies that practically forced Germany to keep her sword in readiness.

Again and again we hear that France's war is a crusade for the Kingdom of God, for the purity of the Christian faith and Christian morals. But if this is true, how explain the enthusiasm and the agitation of religion's worst enemies for its successful issue? Germany is violently reproached that she considers herself as a higher nation, as the "nation chosen by God" to rule the world. But when did Germany or her ruler ever apply this Scriptural phrase to herself as France does in this book when she solemnly calls herself the "chosen people of God, the eldest daughter and faithful servant of Holy Church?" (278). All of a sudden the discovery is made that whatever is wicked in France and destructive of French society, its godless philosophy, Modernism, the "Kulturkampf," has come in from Germany. Yet it is admitted in the same breath that these ideas and tendencies are spread nowadays over the whole world. Besides, has it not been the custom to assert—and not without reason—that France leads the nations in good as well as in evil, that she, least of all, has any need of borrowing ideas and impulses from slow and unimaginative Germany. As to Modernism and immorality we can find plenty of effective material in French theological works written before the war to rebut the groundless or exaggerated reproaches contained in the book. They show us that Modernism was influenced not only by the Philosopher of Koenigsberg, but far more by Hume and Spencer and the French Positivists. They show us also that the separation of morality from religion, which in France has penetrated even into the common schools, is not at all based on German models. Baudrillart himself, in an address delivered in Toulouse in 1908, impressively complained that the egoistic materialistic morality of France is far removed from the severeness of the "categorical imperative."

Baudrillart, and especially G. Goyau, formerly said so much in praise of German Catholicism that it is almost impossible to understand how they could concur in this serious slander.[4] Thus Goyau wrote that the Catholics of Germany had, in the school of the 19th century, grown accustomed to place themselves at the disposal of the church in the social and the political life "without deviation or hesitation, with that fervor with which one makes an act of faith."[5] He held that many an action inaugurated by German Catholics could not be transplanted into France just because the fervent and energetic faith which exists on the Rhine and in Westphalia does not prevail among the French people, whose leaders are therefore without a thoroughly Catholic following.[6] He also recognized it as one of the chief merits of German Catholicism that by its courageous stand for the freedom and independence of ecclesiastical authority during the "Kulturkampf"—in the home of the Reformation—it unfolded as a lofty, proud banner a "fundamental principle of Christianity."[7] How does Goyau's present remark that the German Catholics allowed themselves—half-unconsciously—to be led astray by an anti-ecclesiastical, Protestant tendency, accord with the above (33)? And how Gaudeau's characterization that the German Catholics "have been trained to subserviency by the political powers and reduced to a condition of bondage?" And how, finally, the infamous insinuation of the French rejoinder, which was adopted on July 12 in "plenary session," that there is indeed much faith and touching piety to be found on the Rhine, in Bavaria and other parts of Southern Germany, but that side by side with it there is a "native barbarousness in certain peoples and a passive subjection to the (political) authorities *in all things, it matters not what they command"?*

It is intelligible only on the assumption of an intense excitement of the emotions and a consequent clouding of the judgment how intellectually gifted men can so involve themselves in contradictions, and noble Catholics so far offend against the demands of brotherly love and justice. This excitement can be explained to some extent, though it may not be excused by the impulsiveness of the French soul, joined to the overwhelming impressions produced by the German invasion and the increasing painful and ineffectual sacrifices. The more clear-sighted ones among them understand that the unsuccessful issue of this war will forever put an end to their hope of taking revenge on Germany for 1870 and reducing her to the second

4 Cf. Koeln. Volkszeitung 1915, No. 641.
5 L'Allemagne religieuse: Le Catholicisme III (1909) XXXVII.
6 Id. in Dictionnaire de Theol. Cathol. 1 (1899-1903) 849.
7 Id. Bismarck et l'Eglise III (1913) XXX.

rank. Besides this, wide Catholic circles had already gone over to an extreme nationalism in consequence of the oppression of the Church by the ruling powers; they felt that down-trodden right and fettered religion could not any more rise by their own power, but only on the wings of national enthusiasm, the most elemental power of the French soul. They believed then that the adversities of the war, which would excite patriotism to the highest pitch, had brought about the auspicious moment when, by a brilliant union of bravery and piety, of military and religious fervour, they might prove themselves the truer patriots, the better Frenchmen. Thus they hoped to bring about the dawn of the religious renovation of France. However, such tactics, no matter how promising they may appear, rarely lead to the desired results. Possibly they may this time bring the contrary results, because they offer the real instigators of this world war a means of unloading upon the hated "clericals" the burden of their own guilt and the odium, in the event of an unfavorable issue of the war. The cause of right and religion must be defended *on their own merits.* Moral and religious interests are so exalted and divine that they can be conquered only by him who seeks them in all their purity, who is ready to sacrifice all transient treasure for them, even the glory of the patriot. The German Catholics did not suffer themselves to be swerved from their purpose by the most violent national agitation. For years they bore in silence the bitter reproach of being enemies of their country when there was question of defending their religious rights and liberties. In the meanwhile they were constantly proving by their acts that they give unto Caesar what belongs to Caesar, and that they are the equals or superiors of all other denominations and parties in their grasp of national and social affairs. It was due to this objective manner of warfare, to their faith in the intrinsic power of right and truth, and to their unity of sentiment and effort in its behalf, that they won the victory then. Its prize was the desired freedom of their religious life and the acknowledgment of their political and social power and indispensableness.

In a brief, but delicately appreciative review G. Goyau once described this peculiar German method of fighting, and he took no pains to conceal his desire to make its advantages appeal also to his own countrymen. He points out, that even in the first Catholic convention, held in 1848, there was none of that "challenging demeanor, that threatening blare of trumpets, those premature halleluja shouts, which give to a Catholic mobilization the appearance of an offensive;" also that those "accents vainqueurs" were not in

evidence which so often postpone rather than hasten the victory. The German Catholics did not only clamor for their liberties; they also drew up a positive program, which reminded them of their duties and by which they could gauge their mistakes. "They preferred to examine themselves for their own sins of omission rather than intoxicate themselves with accusations against their opponents." They strove to bring about order and to strengthen the Christian spirit in themselves and among their own people before they sought to spread it abroad among others. "We, with our manner and mode of thinking and fighting, we ought to take pains to understand well this method of action, which is rather persuasive than militant, rather proselytizing than provoking, rather pacific than polemic *(ces méthodes d'action plus persuasives que militantes, plus diffusives que provocantes, plus pacifiques que polémiques)."*[8]

Perhaps we are not too bold and sanguine, if we entertain the hope that this German rejoinder will merit the blessing and results of this modest, objective manner of polemics, even though its purpose is not to examine our conscience but to present the brighter side of our people. May we hope, too, that it will produce a more enduring and "persuasive" impression on our contemporaries' sense of truth than the trumpet-blare of the French book; that, being written from the Catholic standpoint, it will exercise a "proselytizing" influence particularly on the public opinion of the Latin countries who naturally are more inaccessible to things Germanic; and finally that, spurning all petty national consideration which provoke dissensions, it will pave the way to true "peace," according to the beautiful maxim of St. Augustine: *Victoria veritatis est caritas* —to that peace which is based on the natural respect of nations for each other, founded on truth and on the supernatural unity of faith, hope and charity, so intimately involved in the very essence of the Catholic Church.

8 Goyau. Autour du Catholicisme social III (1907) 235.

2. The Justice and the Necessity of the World War.

By Professor Dr. Heinrich *Finke*, Freiburg, i. Br.

NO TERM by which to designate the present world war has become more common among us than that of the just and holy war.[9] The leaders of our people coined it in the first days of mobilization and with it expressed the sentiment of all of us. There has never been a more just war! This is the slogan which unites the thought of those at home and of them that are in the trenches.

The concept of a just war has been created by Christianity. While pagan antiquity knew only the war of conquest as the sole form of national progress (for in ancient times the rights of one people over against another were not recognized), Christianity introduced among mankind the conviction that only a just war is lawful. In a stormy period St. Augustine, the most influential Christian teacher in the past fifteen hundred years, repeatedly emphasized the doctrine that war may be waged only for a just cause and for the sake of attaining a higher good—the *pax vera*, true, honorable peace. The Augustinian conception of the *pax vera* dominates the ethics of war throughout the past ages of Christianity.

Two series of considerations are implied in the concept of a just war: there must be the right intention of striving for a real, lasting peace and there must be a just cause. There is a just cause whenever the existence of a people is at stake; consequently, all defensive wars are just. But also the war of offense is just, and even becomes a moral duty when the vital interests of the attacking people inevitably demand it.

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[9] I do not intend to give here a history of the origin of the war. I could not do that, as more extensive studies than I have made are required for that. I am setting the notions of the justice and the necessity of our war in the foreground. I have perused, in a summary way, the official sources, the White Book, the Blue Book, the Yellow Book, etc., for the outbreak of the war; besides the instructive work of L. Bergsträsser, Die diplomatischen Kämpfe vor Kriegsausbruch: Historische Zeitschrift 114 (1915) 489 et seq. A comprehensive work of great charm and conviction is given us by H. Oncken in his two essays: Die Vorgeschichte des Krieges, and: Der Ausbruch des Krieges in: Deutschland und der Weltkrieg (1915) 463-535, 536-564 (quoted Oncken). Attractively written, though strongly subjective are the books by K. Helfferich, Die Enstehung des Weltkrieges (1915); Count J. Andrássy, Wer hat den Krieg verbrochen? (1915); H. St. Chamberlain, Neue Kriegsaufsätze (1915). A popular summary is given by F. Luckwaldt, but especially by J. Haller, Der Ursprung des Weltkrieges, (1915). I perused several French works without any special profit. For the preliminary history the best are R. Pinon, France et Allemagne, nouvelle édition (1913) and P. Saintyves, Les Responsabilités de l'Allemagne dans la guerre de 1914-15. For the explanation of the concept, "just war," cf. my work: Der Gedanke des gerechten und heiligen Krieges in Gegenwart und Vergangenheit (1915). There I have called attention to the recent French literature on the "droit de guerre."

But the war for spoils or conquest is unjust. There have been many of these in the course of time—wars into which peace-loving peoples were forced entirely against their will. It is beyond dispute that France and England have, in the course of their history, waged such wars against peoples and nations.

Now there is deep down in the nature of man and of nations a sense of justice, a categorical imperative that clamors louder than even egotism and malice. This has almost always induced belligerents to seek to make themselves appear in the right and their opponents in the wrong, and thus to make their people believe in the justice of their cause. And so it is even now.[10] On this point a frosty article in the Dutch Anti-Oorlog-Raad (October, 1914), is right, when it says: "In a frightful war like the present it is a psychological necessity for the belligerent nations to believe absolutely in the justice of their cause, and it is self-evident that it is in accord with their inmost need when they express this conviction to third parties." As a matter of fact the thought that the conscience is pure, that the war is just is not only a consolation and an incentive; it has also become a powerful factor in a political sense. Whence Germany's splendid confidence in the outcome of the war? Surely it is based proximately on the absolute faith in our army and its leaders, and on the unshakable determination of our people to endure to the end. But above all it is grounded in the thought, which can be effective in this sense, only with a highly-civilized people: "We are waging a just, a necessary war." But we hear the same strain from the mouth of an English Jesuit: "Our English people has never fought for such a just cause as this."[11] The English soldiers are engaged in a greater crusade than their ancestors, for "the latter fought for Christ's tomb; the allied armies are fighting for something higher; they are fighting for Christianity." And the French, in appealing words, seek to gain over the neutrals by pointing out that Germany is waging an unjust, predatory war. They even sought to make it clear to Pope Benedict XV, with unbecoming importunity, that for him, the defender of right, there can be no neutral stand in this unjust war.[12] And thus each of the belligerent states emphasizes the justice of its war and the injustice of its opponents'. Of course, there are opinionated men in this as in every other matter. But it is only in England that we hear men whose opinion is entitled to respect, ascribing to their government a grave responsibility for the outbreak of

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[10] Cf. Th. Niemeyer, Die Gerechtigkeit des Krieges in Internationale Monatschrift IX, 201 (November, 1914). How elastically the idea of just war can be conceived is evidenced by the declaration made in Milan by C. Meda, Catholic member of Parliament. The Catholic members were, until the last, practically unanimous that Italy should remain neutral. "But when we were informed from a responsible quarter, the Triple Alliance treaty had been denounced as to Austria, that we had assumed obligations towards the nations of the Triple Entente, and that the national honor required the opening of hostilities,—why, we coöperated."

[11] Cf. my essay, p. 10.

[12] Ibid, p. 14

the war. But then we must not forget that England is carrying on the war with mercenary blood, or at least intended to do so. Accordingly war is for her rather a business, and the self-criticism she exercises is substantially not on a higher plane than the severer criticisms we exercise against ourselves also in times of peace. Outside of this there is everywhere unanimity of public opinion.

Is it worth while to talk about just and unjust war, about the responsibility for the world war when we know that it is generally impossible to convince our opponent, or even those more remote from the war?[13] Yet the effort is made even now, despite the proximity of the event and the lack of most important sources. For it lies in the nature of the more thoughtful mind to convince itself as nearly as this may be done, whether it is in the right or in the wrong in its thought and action, and what are the certain limits of its rights. The German in particular—we may pride ourselves on this—has been endowed by nature with a generous measure of independence of judgment and objectivity even in matters that touch his inmost feelings, and especially of familiarizing himself with the conceptions and views of others. As far as I can see, these qualities are by no means wanting in the most recent German works on the origin of the war, despite the unalterable belief in Germany's right. At any rate these works, in their grasp of political problems involved in the war, are as far removed from the frivolous methods of most French writers who pass judgment after reading a few documents issued in July 1914, as they are from the English products, which "furnish each party and each class the arguments it likes to hear," including one work, already issued in several editions, which proves that the Jesuits, forsooth, are the chief instigators of the war and that they have formed a gigantic conspiracy between Germany and Rome to overthrow England.[14]

In view of all this an attempt on our part to clarify the situation hardly requires an apology, especially since "La Guerre Allemande" repeatedly touches upon the origin of the war. Gaudeau does so in his introductory article, several bishops (250 and 263) and finally the professors of the Catholic University of Paris do it (281). All lay stress on Germany's guilt and France's innocence. It is a "German predatory war," an "unjust offensive war," an "anti-Christian war" (23). The proof is imagined or made an easy matter; why, really the thing is self-evident. Only two lines of argument stand out somewhat prominently. In the first place, the Germans themselves have betrayed their determination for the war. Their papers now acknowledge (22) that Germany,

13 On the question of responsibility, cf. A. Bonus, Christliche Welt, 1915, Nos. 23, 24.
14 Cf. Oncken, 463, A. 1.

relying on Italy's assistance, risked the war in view of the political crisis in England, the internal difficulties in Russia and the religious and sociological differences in France. I confess I have not found this argument in any German paper; at any rate, it is false. Certainly, some German papers pointed out that civil war might break out in Ireland on account of Home Rule. But so did papers published in the allied countries. A Pan-Slavistic friend of Earl Grey even assumed this as a certainty.[15] The leading German papers, especially the liberal journals, whose sympathies on this question are with Ireland, and above all the Catholic papers, entertained the warmest sentiments for Ireland without civil war. Russia's internal difficulties? Is it possible that there was any German paper so ignorant as to believe in them, when our leading journalistic and professional circles had for years been calling attention, either with astonishment or with envy, to Russia's brilliant economic development.[16] France's religious differences were hardly noted except by the Catholic press, which treated the decay of Catholic life in France with becoming grief and without political considerations. How little hope was reposed in Italy's alliance was plainly evident in the icy coldness with which her declaration of neutrality was received among us in those exciting days of early August. The attitude of England and Japan brought bitter disappointment to many an inexperienced one, Italy's to nobody.

As further witnesses for the prosecution Gaudeau brings forward General von Bernhardi and the journalist, Maximilian Harden (21 and 22), both of whom are frequently quoted in allied works as acknowledging Germany as the aggressor in this war. Bernhardi appears with an expression concerning Germany's need of expansion. It is taken from a pamphlet published by him, and reproduced in part in the "Correspondant" from an English translation. The expression is harmless enough in itself, but Gaudeau omits to explain whether Bernhardi means expansion by pacific or by war-like means. Or does Gaudeau not know the former? As to Harden's misinterpretable article in the "Zukunft," according to which we desired the war, because we had to desire it, the more serious class of publications took a stand against it immediately.[17] But of what importance is the phrase of the clever editor of the "Zukunft," of what moment all the other passages that might be gathered from Bernhardi, and the scattered utterances in Pan-German papers that Gaudeau might have adduced for his purpose, face to face with the overwhelming and certainly more authoritative material to be found in

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15 Cf. below.
16 Thus particularly Professor Hötzsch in a well-known book on Russia.
17 Cf. protest by "Köln. Volkszeitung" against a speech by Harden of like tenor.

most recent French, English and Russian sources? The French at least can not have escaped Gaudeau's notice. If he indeed wished to write objectively and fully deserve the faith Cardinal Amette reposes in him, he should have placed side by side with the utterances of General von Bernhardi the incendiary pamphlet of Lieutenant R. de D. ("Le partage de l'Allemagne et l'échéance de demain"). Therein is a map from which the German Empire has disappeared and a small state, Thuringia, has remained! And side by side with the publicist Harden he should have placed the utterances of one surely not unknown to him, the Count de Mun, in the "Echo de Paris," in which this Catholic deputy, during the Eastern complications (1913)—the prelude of the present war—rejoiced that the decisive hour had struck for France "on the Danube to regain the Rhine."[18] Does Gaudeau really know nothing about the flood of strategic studies, concluding with the proof of Germany's defeat? Does he know nothing of the incendiary, anti-German theatrical productions that proclaimed certain victory over Germany? Has the sensational scene at the farewell banquet of the commanding General Baillard at the beginning of 1907 entirely escaped his memory? On that occasion Baillard, in response to a toast by Major Göpp, who deplored that he was retired from the service before the hour of revenge had come, said: "War between Germany and France is coming, it is inevitable." And what did the French Government do? It did indeed assign the general to another command, but it specially emphasized that the general's address was by no means the chief reason, much less the only reason for his disciplining.[19]

One not in touch with the world's activities might still have been ignorant, in 1913, of how Russian generals incited to war against helpless Austria,[20] if he had no knowledge of the famous article of Prince Swjatopolk-Mirsky in the St. Petersburg "Wjedomosti." According to him Russia has a natural enemy—Germany, and an imaginary one—England; a war must crush Germany, and Russia must receive the Eastern provinces of Prussia. This article, published in 1909, the Prince was permitted to republish at the beginning of the war with the Government's consent.[21] Now Gaudeau is not such a stranger to the world's doings as to have been ignorant of all this. But even if it did escape his notice, did he not have even an inkling of the series of articles, inciting to war and predicting it, which were published by his English confederates, beginning with the mad cry: *"Germaniam esse delendam,* Germany must be crushed," in the "Saturday Review" of February 1, 1896,

18 Cf. the quotation in the "Köln. Volkszeitung" of July 16, 1915, No. 712.
19 These examples from France may suffice.
20 Cf. Uebersberger, Russia and Pan-Slavism in Deutschland und der Weltkrieg, 419, note.
21 Here quoted from a special edition.

and reaching their climax in the war-inspiring articles of the anglicized American, Homer Lea, and in the remarkable defense by General Hamilton, just then very much in the public eye, of the English mercenary army on the plea that only mercenary troops make possible an offensive war and an energetic foreign policy, that is, a policy of conquest.[22] In September, 1897, the above-mentioned influential journal wrote: "If Germany were to be crushed tomorrow, there would not be an Englishman in all the world who would not be richer the day after. Nations fought for centuries for a single city or for a right of succession. Should not England fight for a commerce of £200,000,000? Within a few days the British fleet could sink Germany's ships or bring them to England; Hamburg and Bremen would fall by England's cannons. To France and Russia England could say: Take whatsoever you please in Germany; it is yours." Shortly before the war Homer Lea wrote thus: "War (with Germany) is inevitable. Wars created the Empire and wars will prolong or shorten its existence." And this incendiary work is dedicated to England's most famous military man, Field Marshall Lord Roberts! Where is there to be found among the German publications a single article that so clearly presents the effects of England's internal dissensions on its foreign policy and predicts the impending calamity of war, as does the communication of the former Russian diplomat Branschaninow. Branschaninow, after an audience with Grey on March 28, 1914, declares in his weekly that war is for England a means of escape from the internal difficulties of Home Rule. He asks the striking question: "Is it not strange to think that within a month and a half or two Europe will be on the verge of a universal war on account of the Irish question?" The diplomat was mistaken by only two months in his prediction.[23]

What conclusion results from these utterances on the part of our enemies, which might readily be multiplied? Over against the few voices that incited to war in Germany, and were noticed only in limited circles, there are dozens of voices among the Allies that call for an early fight, and—this is to be specially noted—for the destruction of Germany and Austria; aye, there are voices that predict the beginning of the war almost to the day. Shall we then conclude after the manner of Gaudeau: We have here conclusive proof that the Allies wanted the war? We would be more justified in doing so than he; but more cautious than he we say: We have here a strong, though by itself not conclusive symptom of our opponents' desire of war, which demonstrates that they created the danger of war, but not with absolute necessity that they willed the attack. Nor shall we be induced to depart from our cautious

[22] E. Marcks, Die Machtpolitik Englands, in Deutschland und der Weltkrieg, 319.
[23] According to the "Novoje Zveno" (1914, p. 407), mentioned by Uebersberger in his article "Russia and Pan-Slavism," in Deutschland und der Weltkrieg, 422.

judgment by the information—little noticed, yet very important—given by the Rev. Schowalter,[24] according to which Botha advised him confidentially five years ago to warn the German statesmen that England's policy was the crushing of Germany, and no amount of friendliness on her part would spare her the final fight for supremacy with England.

According to Gaudeau sound common sense should perceive as clearly as the light of day (21) that Germany is responsible for the war. Rosenberg has already refuted this by pointing out that "sound common sense is not competent in this matter."[25] But even if we did admit it as a norm, we would have to reason thus: Every war aims at a change in political possession; the real aggressor then is he that seeks after this change. Now what did France strive for? It wanted revenge and Alsace-Lorraine. Nobody in France denies this. Some years ago the Socialist leader Jaurès and his comrade Pressensé dared to suggest, from the rostrum of the Chamber of Deputies, that France dismiss the thought of revenge. They were howled down by the Chamber, and the President of the Chamber, Doumer, solemnly protested against this degradation and insult to the most sacred sentiments of the assembly.[26] What the Republican leader Deschanel designated, on the occasion of his reception into the Academy, as the goal of his policy, namely, "the winning back of the Rhine on the Danube," dozens of French politicians have expressed with more or less frankness. The only difference, forsooth, was this that sometimes the name Alsace-Lorraine was uttered at banquet or in church, sometimes not; but always were the thoughts and desires of all Frenchmen turned to the lost provinces. And Russia? It wanted and still wants Constantinople—Byzantium. The mother city of Russian spirit and Russian faith, of Russian social organization, art and manners has for centuries been the glittering ideal that beckoned from afar to the whole Russian people and its great statesmen and intellectual leaders.[27] We find it thus in the apocryphal testament of Peter the Great, thus in the works of Dostojewski. "In this matter," so the poet says, "we must not make a single concession to Europe, for it is a matter of life and death for us." What the poet demanded forty years ago, one of the most learned Russian historians demanded with a certain brutal but naive frankness, two months before the war in the May number of the "Preussische Jahrbücher." He, too, proclaimed the axiom: "The road to Constantinople leads over Berlin and Vienna." If the Germans will not aid the Russians, he threatens them with war. England did not desire any of our territory,

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24 Die Christliche Welt, 1914, Sp. 1035.
25 Rosenberg, 23.
26 Cf. "Köln. Zeitung" 1915, No. 712.
27 M. Scheler: Der Genius des Krieges und der deutsche Krieg (1915), 169.

but it wanted to destroy our navy and destroy us as her commercial competitor. And we and Austria? Did we desire to take by force territory held by others? We would have been satisfied, if we had been left in peace in the enjoyment of our possessions. To us it is given, as to hardly any other nation, to acknowledge honestly the right of existence of the great nations, to understand and duly to appreciate their national individuality and their intellectual development. No doubt some Pan-German dreamer, a so-called Imperialist, has occasionally expressed the wish for a greater Germany. Such desires have never entered the sphere of thought of our leading political circles. "The day of the Germans," regarding which there has been so much foolish talk, is not territorial Imperialism, nor a policy of conquest or force. It is the principle of the open door in commerce; it is the urgency for intellectual stimulation by means of the peculiarity of the German spirit. If, then, sound common sense should decide, then surely Germany is not the instigator of the world war.

The representatives of the Catholic University of Paris solemnly declare that Germany carefully planned the war beforehand and that she wrecked all efforts at reconciliation. Irrefutable proof of this, they claim, is at hand in the diplomatic documents published by the several states (281). Also these scholars, then, adopt the view that the truth—in the present case, regarding the origin of the war—can be ascertained only from official Blue Books and White Books. No investigator doubts the great value of diplomatic documents. They are, above all, pictures of momentary emotions, and as such in all probability quite reliable. Whom should the diplomat wish to deceive with these reports, since they are primarily not intended for the public? On this point we can gain much information from the reports of the Belgian envoys during the period when the isolation of Germany was in progress.[28] It is a different matter with the events narrated. Not that I attach great importance to the reports of forgeries; some few, indeed, seem definitely proved;[29] in the case of others it is mere misunderstanding. But even a greater number of forgeries could hardly influence the final judgment to any extent. More important is the following consideration: No man, not even the trained historian, can form an absolutely certain judgment from a comparison of the several collections. It is a matter of comparing hundreds of documents, which, often contradicting each other, appeared within a period of hardly eight days. Despite the wealth of dispatches, the books contain only such as have been selected from a certain view-

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[28] Cf. below p. 40.

[29] Several German investigators have called attention to this. Also the "Nordd. Allgem. Zeitung" repeatedly brought proofs of this.

point; the most intimate, and therefore the most decisive communications, often the very ones that link events together, are missing. "Each power," says Oncken, "selects those documents which it judges suitable to prove what it intends to prove." "It is precisely in the official publications, in the Blue Books and the White Books, that the real powers that are preparing to battle against each other, do not come to the front, and to the superficial observer it may look as if a technical discussion between a few diplomats, into which misunderstandings, clumsiness and malice interjected themselves, really brought about, in one short week, the greatest war of history. The diplomatic terminology is absolutely lavish in the use of the harmless phrases which are abundantly familiar to us from the days prior to the war, such as the European balance of power, national honor, human civilization and solicitude for the world's peace. But behind them all are concealed the mighty motor forces of history and aspirations that have long been consciously directed to a well-defined goal."[30] Perhaps it is not out of place to ask how many of those University men that do so solemnly declare have compared the several official Blue and White Books.

In the first place knowledge of the events preceding the war will give us the key to the understanding of the latest problems and thus make it possible to give an objective sketch of the origin of the war, which neither Gaudeau's sound common sense nor the cursory reading of diplomatic documents by the representatives of the Catholic University of Paris can give. Only from the events preceding the war does the German scholar and the German people derive an unshakable confidence in their justice and the injustice of their opponents, and a clear perception of the necessity of the world-war they are waging.

II.

The words *L'empire c'est la paix* have been verified in the new German Empire. For more than forty years it preserved peace with the great powers, looked with disfavor on all disturbances of the peace in Europe, and was the least active in the many colonial wars in other parts of the world. The personality of Emperor William I gradually became the symbol of peace. As long as his venerable form dwells among us, there will be no war. Such was the universal, not only the German view. Thus, for instance, it is worthy of note that Saintyves, in the book published by him, has little of a positive nature to say regarding German provocations to war during the first twenty years of the new Empire. The Socialist leader, Jaurès, declared in 1903, in the Chamber of Depu-

30 Oncken, 536.

ties, that he did not believe Germany had meditated any attack on France for the last thirty years. But two episodes already show the advent of a new era: the celebrated war-psychosis of 1875 and the Congress of Berlin in 1878. We now know with certainty that early in 1875, in a theorizing after-dinner discussion, von Radowitz used the expression "Christian offensive war," which Ambassador Gontaut reported to Paris and which Décazes used to compromise Bismarck's politics before Europe, while vain old Gortschakow in Berlin itself grabbed at it as a cheap means to pose as peace-maker. ("Now peace has been made secure," that is, through me.) Even Gambetta, five years later, spoke of the "comedy of 1875."[31] But it was the first attempt at the isolation of Germany, in which France, Russia and England went hand-in-hand and Count Schuwalow remarked: "It has been demonstrated what England and Russia can do when united." Especially did it become evident in what direction the newly-strengthened France was tending. The Congress of Berlin brought us two things: the enmity of Russia and the alliance with Austria. The former, because, while we would not block the road to Constantinople for Russia, yet we were not disposed to assist her towards it. Because Bismarck declined to commit Germany to absolute neutrality in the event of an Austro-Russian war, Russia has ever since regarded Germany as the chief obstacle to all Muscovite plans of conquest in the West. In consequence thereof Bismarck created the Austro-German alliance in the following year. And the far-sighted Italian statesmanship of those days, when her relations with France were strained, united Italy with Germany and Austria in the Triple Alliance, whose repeatedly emphasized pacific policy actually maintained itself for a generation. It is true that in the last decades Bismarck had the "night-mare of hostile coalitions," that in his powerful speech of February, 1888, he had to warn France against stirring too strongly the thought of revenge and could only regretfully declare to Russia, then still bound to us by the treaty of mutual guarantee, that we would run after nobody. Still peace was maintained—maintained also for almost a full quarter century after the direction of the Empire's affairs had passed into other hands.

A young, impressionable ruler, skilled in speech, ascended the imperial throne in 1888. Rumors of his supposed bellicose inclinations were whispered through Europe; all his actions were watched suspiciously, but at length he was found to be a devoted friend of peace. Only the increases in the army, corresponding to the increases in the population, and the organization and equipment of a strong navy, created as an instrument of peace for the protection of our immensely increasing

[31] Of its significance Hanotaux treats comprehensively in his book "Histoire de la France contemporaine, vol. III. cf. Oncken 465 and the synopsis in "Stimmen der Zeit" (by Nostitz-Rieneck) 45 (1915) 237 sq.

foreign trade, caused a feeling of greater uneasiness and a clanking of swords in the French and the Russian papers until the end of the century. Also the French historical publications find nothing to report concerning this period except an occasional energetic utterance by the Emperor, various stronger expressions by German papers, the foundation of the Pan-Germanic Union and quotations from its journals. What the sentiments of the Emperor and the Government really were in those days appears from a sober consideration of a number of indisputable facts.

No European state declined as many offers of war in the decade from 1894 to 1905 as Germany. There was first the Conservative Salisbury cabinet: The English Premier personally proposed to the Emperor the partition of Turkey.[32] William II declined for ideal, but also for evident practical reasons. In the following year there was the raid of Dr. Jameson on the Boer republics and the well-known telegram of President Krüger. Opinions may be divided as to its political significance, but there can be no doubt as to the Emperor's personal views. In sharply pointed words he expressed the civilized world's sense of justice. People have sought behind the telegram Imperial plans of aggression. No doubt, unjustly; he merely desired to protect the rights of the small kindred state against robbers. This is evidenced also by the attitude of the Emperor and his Government during England's awful Boer war. The German people, like the French, was enthusiastic for the heroic Boer fighters, and indignant over the horrors of the concentration camps. Thereby it aroused a most intense wrath in England, which has never forgotten our taking sides against it. The Emperor and the Government urgently requested Krüger to yield and refused to receive the Boer envoys on German soil, and thus killed in the germ a great anti-English agitation fostered by France. When then, at the height of the war, the tempters, France and Russia, approached the Emperor that in union with them he force England to end the war, because the moment had come not only to save the Boers, but to humble England to the dust, the Emperor declined to bring about the ruin of England. He refused to participate in any policy which would result in complications with England.[33] On the other hand Germany repeatedly declined offers of alliances with England that were evidently directed against Russia. Thus, in 1899 when the then all-powerful Chamberlain suggested a triple alliance of Germany with the two Anglo-Saxon nations. Count Bülow, in his great navy speech in December, 1900, emphasized the unshakable solidity of the Triple Alliance "and our friendly relations with Russia,"[34] while Chamberlain complained in the British Parliament:

[32] Oncken, 470.
[33] Cf. the very instructive article by H. v. Grauert in "Hochland" 1915, 465.
[34] Oncken, 475. Grauert, ibid. 464.

"Great Britain might have declared war on Russia, but without allies we cannot do any serious damage to Russia." And again in 1901 Germany gave a reserved reply to England's offer, since she did not feel disposed to be England's sword on the continent. Thus, guided by the sentiment of European solidarity, Germany refused, at the turning of the century, to use her sword either against England or against Russia.[35] H. von Grauert is right in saying that there is no stronger proof of the pacific disposition of the German Emperor, of the other German princes and their governments than the reserve which Germany maintained towards the English offers of alliance in the spring of 1901. To all this should be added, as the best link in this chain, our reserve during and after the Russo-Japanese war, when Russia lay prostrate on the ground and France, not yet firmly bound to England, was rent by internal dissensions. How easily it would have been for a war-mad Germany separately to strike down both countries for generations! German love of peace prevailed.

Now let us note the change in the political complexion of the world since the beginning of the century. France and Russia have drawn closer to each other by jerks since 1891. Naval visits, visits by the heads of the respective governments, articles in the leading papers, which are delighted with the ever-growing impulse to closer union, characterize the situation and the sentiment. However, Pan-Slavism in Russia is still in its early stages, and the revenge idea in France has grown more moderate in the last decade. If ever, Gambetta's injunction, never to speak of it, but always to think of it, was followed at this time. The humiliation resulting from the Faschoda affair in 1897 and the enthusiasm for the Boers led to passionate attacks on England, which, of course, were soon forgotten. The latter, after a period of quiet and satiety in its colonial policy, undertook a new survey of her position among the world-powers with the Boer War. She recognized the necessity of a tighter binding together of her world-wide empire, and abandonment of her *splendid isolation*. As naught had come of the proposed alliance with Germany, she initiated with the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902, which has been called "an unheard of move on the part of a European power," the series of more or less loose alliances which England contracted with different countries, but not with Germany. Though not in every single case, yet in their totality these alliances aimed at the isolation of Germany. In a quiet way the opposition to Germany had become manifest also among the English people. Traces of it were shown by a certain portion of the English press since the beginning of the nineties. When, with the astonishing development of Germany's commerce, the

[35] Grauert, ibid. 463, note.

Empire found itself compelled to seek in a peaceful way new paths and opportunities for her steadily growing population and wealth in countries outside of Europe; when, moreover, the project of the Bagdad Railroad was set on foot, then England's commercial rivalry began to manifest itself toward the end of the nineties. The angry outbursts of the "Saturday Review," mentioned above, are a significant symptom thereof. In those momentous developments two men appear, who exercise a determining influence. They are King Edward VII (since the beginning of 1901), and the French statesman, Delcassé. The importance of Edward's personality is a matter of dispute. There is no gain-saying that the "storm petrel of politics" was possessed of immense vivacity, winning amiability and large knowledge of affairs. In union with him worked the southern fanaticism of Delcassé, but the King was the player and the Frenchman was the puppet, however much the latter's personal vanity may have dreamt of leadership. In the spring of 1903 the King appeared unexpectedly in Paris and delivered his famous friendship toast, to which Loubet responded even more warmly in London. The Anglo-French agreement of April, 1904, did away definitely with all causes of opposition between the two powers; over the whole earth there was to be no more rivalry between them. France concedes Egypt to England, while England leaves Morocco to her ally. No consideration is given to Germany's long-standing commercial rights in Morocco. And when Germany bestirred herself and the Emperor appeared in Tangier as the friend of the Sultan, thus forcing France and England to show their colors, England offered France her aid and a defensive alliance. English troops were to fight side by side with the French, the English navy was to occupy the Kaiser Wilhelm Canal and a hundred thousand English troops were to land in Schleswig-Holstein.[36] However, France was still too much in awe of Germany; she still feared too much the strength of the German arm to dare invite a struggle. Warned, she hesitated, and Delcassé, with tears, had to resign his portfolio in the summer of 1905.

While France retreated for the moment, King Edward, in the same summer of 1905 courted the friendship of Russia, who had just then been beaten by Japan. No mutual obligations were contracted at the time, but the way was paved for the new, abnormal alliance, the possibility of which Berlin diplomacy was loathe to believe for a long time.[37] Shortly after a Liberal ministry came into power in England. With it begin the confidential conferences, suggested by Earl Grey, the new min-

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[36] Exposed by the "Matin," October, 1905. Cf. Oncken, 489, A. 1, where 1904 is a typographical error.

[37] No. 8 of the Belgian reports, which the "Nordd. Allgem. Zeitung" published in serial form and separately since July 29, 1915 (No. 208). These figures preceded by No. refer to the Belgian reports. The supplements in the second Belgian Grey Book, with two exceptions not essential to our purpose, belong to the last week in July, 1914. I shall not discuss the selection at much.

ister of foreign affairs, between the military and naval officials of the new Entente. Continued for years they gradually developed into military conventions, and tended to give constantly increasing unity to the politics of both countries without any trace of a written agreement. With it begin also the efforts, characterized even by a Belgian diplomat as perfidious, to draw neutral Belgium over to the side of the Entente. Germany's isolation even at that time is shown by the conference of Algeciras. Russia made peace with her hereditary enemy in 1907. Only the Austrian Emperor turned a deaf ear, in the summer of 1908, to the wooing of Edward VII. Italy gradually began to go her own way, despite her renewal of the Triple Alliance, and inaugurated the great Balkan conflagration with her campaign in Tripoli. The reorganization of the Turkish Empire brought Europe's storm centre under the loving care of Edward VII. Together with the Czar, he drew up, at Reval, the program of reforms for Macedonia. As if it were a matter of course they went about it all alone. Austria, who was most vitally interested, was not even mentioned, much less invited to participate. Only when a new, ambitious Russian minister, Iswolski, proposed to Austria the annexation of Bosnia in return for the hoped-for opening of the Dardanelles, and Austria assented, did England remember the Balkan neighbor by seeking to set the Slavic world ablaze by an acrimonious press campaign and to win over little Serbia to an attack upon Austria's southern line. When, in the following year (1910), Edward VII died without having reaped the fruits of his sowing, the politics of the Entente returned to the point whence its operations had issued. In the spring of 1911 Grey delivered his famous speech on world peace to the delight of all pacifists in Europe and America. He denounced Germany with her naval and military armament as the foe of peace. Meanwhile, France went with his consent to Fez and forced Germany to the action of Agadir for the protection of her subjects. A cry of indignation at this audacity rang through the English world; France, too, interpreted this first energetic turn of German foreign politics as a threat of war. Nor did the subsequent Congo negotiations relieve to any extent the excited feelings of the French people. Then came the Balkan tragedy. Russia had formed the Balkan Union under her protectorate in 1912. Austria was excluded. The small States were eagerly awaiting her disruption and were already contending for their share. Out of the strange course of the Balkan war victorious Bulgaria issues greatly weakened, while Serbia has vastly increased in size. Her megalomania finds a prop in Russia; she knows herself secure against Austria's threats—until the murder of the Austrian heir-apparent by Serbian emissaries starts the world-conflagration.

The facts just related are well-known. The subjective coloring lies in the interpretation and the way in which we link them together. Is it correct? Let us ask the recently published reports of the Belgian ambassadors. An effort has been made to discredit these reports of the Belgian ambassadors to Berlin, London and Paris on the score that, as representatives of the Catholic ministry, as friends of the monarchy and of the Conservatives the ambassadors were prejudiced. Nothing is more absurd. These men of different intelligence, and undoubtedly also of different political preferences, wish to feel merely as Belgians and to note events merely from the Belgian point of view. Thus Baron Guillaume once remarked very frankly in Paris that, if he were a Frenchman, he would join the Nationalist party of Briand. "But," he added, "I am a Belgian and therefore compelled to see events from other points of view. . . . . It is certain that the success of Mr. Caillaux' policy (friendly to the Germans), would have been more to our interest." (No. 110.) It was with the Belgian interests in view that Greindl favored the Triple Alliance: "The Triple Alliance headed by Germany has given us thirty years of peace. The new French-Anglo-Russian Triple Entente would be no substitute, but rather a source of continual anxiety." And the conclusion: "Perhaps there is in preparation a new grouping of the powers, which might diminish the prospects of peace and result to our disadvantage." (No. 8.)

From this point of view they are all the most attentive observers and the most keenly sensitive critics of the political changes of the last decade before the outbreak of the world war. Their judgments regarding the future are sharp and sure, frequently more correct than those of the German diplomats with whom Greindl and Beyens exchanged opinions. How keenly, for instance, is the character of the numerous political agreements expressed in the following words: "These precautions against imaginary dangers are calculated to create and foster among the nations the idea that Germany is the power lusting for war, against whose machinations the other powers had to combine." (No. 35.) The concordance of opinions is often astonishing. On February 18, 1905, Greindl had said, concerning the English people: "The real cause of England's hatred for Germany is jealousy called forth by the unusually rapid development of the German merchant marine, German commerce and German industry." A few days previously Count Lalaing had expressed the same conviction in the same terms in London. (No. 1 and 2.)[38]

[38] I take occasion to call attention also to the good sketch of the historian Lavisse (a good historian, but a wretched political writer, Nr. 113) and Grey, whose speeches apparently contain common-places, yet skillfully pursue a definite end. There is also a delightful picture of England's arrogance. "Nowadays London regards it as an unfriendly act and a menace to peace, if a nation refuses to bind itself by treaty to be dependent upon England's good grace!" (No. 57.)

Now what is the judgment of these unprejudiced witnesses regarding the events of the decisive decade just passed, the leading personalities and the changes in the sentiments of the people? What is King Edward's aim? Baron Greindl absolutely believes that the King, independently of his government, goaded Delcassé into his warlike politics (No. 17), and Count Lalaing in London sincerely deplores that Edward VII devoted his personal influence to the isolation of Germany. It is precisely Edward's campaign, conducted with as much perseverance as success, for the complete isolation of Germany that is a frequent topic in the reports. The recall of the high-minded Ambassador Lascelles from Berlin was the work of Edward, because "his pro-German attitude did not correspond with the political purposes of his sovereign." (No. 50.) These things make intelligible the characterization of his activities in the following words: The peace of the world was never more seriously jeopardized than since the King of England is seeking to safeguard it (No. 54). The King, the people and the press are working together: the latter frivolously publishes every calumny against Germany and joyfully hails every combination hostile to her. (No. 6.) Hence all efforts to draw the two nations closer together are futile. The effort of Lord Avesbury in 1906 was unsuccessful. "The English press has created such mischief with its attacks upon the Emperor, his Government and his people, that the public will always remain suspicious." "Every good citizen believes himself obliged to hate this country." (No. 18.) The German people suffers under this condition of things. Again and again the initiative for a rapprochement is taken by Berlin. Even these Belgians think that Germany is holding herself too cheap, that she is making too many concessions. The time for negotiating has passed. "Germany can only choose between intentional ignoring and war, which the Emperor does not want and public opinion would condemn." So an ambassador reports in an affair between Germany and France. "Berlin resignedly goes so far as to give credence to the most improbable assertions of the French minister Pichon, in order to avoid the necessity of again opening the Moroccan question" (No. 45).

In the whole decade the Emperor's and also his Government's love of peace is repeatedly emphasized; even yet at the end of 1912 the Emperor, the Chancellor and the Secretary of State are regarded by Baron Beyens as passionately devoted to peace. (No. 96.) At that same time the French Ambassador, Jules Cambon, repeatedly expresses to Beyens his fear that a catastrophe is impending. But why? The greatest danger to the peace of Europe, it was said, lay in the lack of discipline and the personal politics of Russia's representatives in foreign countries. (No. 94.) On another occasion Cambon deplores Iswolski's personal

desire for revenge on Austria. (No. 102.) As a matter of fact, under the influence of the high-tide of Pan-Slavism, Russia, in the past few years, has been insisting on an attack upon her western neighbor, the court-party wants war. (No. 96.) "Without being pressed by Germany, Russia is increasing her armament in a fearful way." Thus a report has it shortly before the war, in June, 1914. (No. 118.)

In France the *Entente Cordiale* was for a long time regarded with suspicion by large classes of people, and many Frenchmen entertained the wish to free France from British interference. Even the Government for a time would have preferred that the English King refrain from visiting France. Meanwhile Russian back-stairs diplomacy was at work. All these things were very annoying and were borne only with curses. (No. 103.) Of course, gradually the disagreeable side of the French character began to assert itself. "French presumptuousness is again growing. Whenever, in the course of history, France felt strong enough she sought to acquire the supremacy over the whole world." A strong French chauvinism has paraded itself undisguised in the last few years. Its protector and protegé is Poincaré, first minister, then President of the Republic. (No. 97.) The minister Pichon himself admits that "in one-half of the Parisian theaters nationalist and chauvinistic pieces are being played." Above all Cambon's confession is remarkable: "Since the Dreyfus affair we have in France a militarist and nationalist party which will, under no circumstances, hear of rapprochement to Germany. . . . . The government must reckon with it." (No. 111.) The strain became almost unbearable, especially when, in 1913, upon the increase of our army as a result of the Balkan war, the three-year military service was decided upon in France, and her resources were thus taxed beyond due measure. In France it was feared something might happen which would bring about war within three days. (No. 115, May, 1914.) "Within two years the three-year period of military service must be abandoned or there must be war." Even cautious, expert men of affairs are, as it were, intoxicated by the existing condition of things. "They are striking up a different tune now," says a Parisian, who is thoroughly acquainted with the international situation. "They say they are certain of victory. In view of the French national character there is always reason for fearing lest the baser elements may lead the people to create a situation in which war is inevitable." The consideration that the St. Petersburg cabinet had pressed France to pass this law and now insisted on the execution thereof with all its influence, moves Baron Guillaume to ask himself the following question a few days before the murder of Serajewo: "Can it be that the attitude of the St. Petersburg cabinet is based on the conviction that events are imminent enough to

make use of the instrument that it wishes to put in the hands of its ally?" (No. 116, June, 1914.)

What we have said thus far must surely result in the conviction that Germany was surrounded and isolated by her neighbors and that this isolation was intentional and complete. Austria alone still stood by her, and Austria was considered by our opponents as a moribund and almost negligible conglomerate. Since the days of Racconigi in 1908, we could not any more trust Italy, as is officially admitted. The political secrets of the Triple Alliance had been betrayed to Russia (by a very high official?).[39] This isolation was not in the least affected by the latest attempts at rapprochement made by Lord Haldane nor by the exchange of professors. It was even towards the close of 1912, the very year in which this exchange took place, that Earl Grey and Paul Cambon by letter reached the agreement which forced England's participation in the world war.

This tormenting isolation was no compelling cause of war. We could still dodge and carefully avoid all difficulties, as, according to Belgian testimony, we had done at all times. Those that had perfected the isolation of Germany may not all and not always have intended to go to war against us, it may be that our humiliation would have appeased them. But there is a limit to all things. Something unforeseen, a catastrophe, made war inevitable.

There is another conviction resulting from what we have thus far set forth; namely, that our isolation had assumed a dangerous character in the last few years, since the death of Edward VII. The warlike instincts of Pan-Slavism and of French chauvinism permeated all political thought and action in Russia and France, and behind them stood official England goading them on.

III.

Two points remain to be discussed: Austria's attitude towards Serbia and Germany's attitude before the outbreak of the world war. According to Gaudeau the documents and other revelations prove convincingly that the crime of Serajewo was only a pretext for Austria's long-planned attack upon Serbia. Her lust for attack in 1913 was proved by Giolitti and Take Jonescu. Serbia, at the decisive moment, offered full reparation. In refusing it Austria sinned grievously against its duties as a Catholic state. (21.)

Here again, as in practically all the hostile literature, we meet the strange phenomenon that the dastardly crime of Serajewo and Serbia's guilt is hardly touched upon. The heir of a great empire, a noble man,

[39] Cf. in "Süddeutsche Monatshefte" (1915), June number, article by K. M. von Wolfsberg, especially page 509.

a faithful Catholic, is murdered with his wife on his own soil by Serbians, members of a band of conspirators, to which belong active Serbian officers and active Serbian officials! One should expect that especially a Catholic work would manifest keenest detestation of the enormous crime and the guilty state that countenanced it. Nothing of the sort! Little Serbia, which so willingly submits to everything, is being treated with bitter injustice! But what are the actual facts?

Austria's historic position as a world power is based above all on the fact that, lying on the boundary between two civilizations, she has for centuries united under Habsburg's sceptre a group of nations and formed the connecting link between the Occident and the Orient. At her gates lies the Balkan. Whosoever closes her southern gate against her, robs her of a part of her political destiny and vital power. Austria could endure Russia's entrance into the eastern part of the Balkan; the western half was for her a *noli me tangere*. Hence, peace between the two powers has been in most serious danger ever since Russia extended her sphere of influence into Serbia, which is Austria's immediate neighbor and extends, as if wedged in, into her territory. This danger was all the more serious, because the attitude of Serbia, who trusted in Russia's protectorate, was a perpetual challenge to Austria. This was especially true after the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegowina, when, as Andrassy says,[40] the whole Serbian nation, the officials as well as the populace, displayed a desire of attacking Austria, which is, perhaps, unique in the history of neighboring states, apparently at peace with each other. On the right bank of the Save, in Bosnia, Austria is a constant danger, a perpetual menace to us, a former Serbian minister of foreign affairs once declared. There was open talk of an impending war, of a life and death struggle with Austria. A Serbian prime minister announced in a pamphlet that the new Serbia must extend to Carniola at the foot of the Alps. A member of the Skupschtina declared before an applauding parliament: "There can be peace and good neighborly feeling between us and Austria, only on condition that Austria cease to be a great power and resign herself to play the role of an eastern Switzerland." Once, however, Serbia had to humble herself (1909), because Russia left her in the lurch. She promised to be a good neighbor and kept the promise for a time. Then came the Balkan League, in which Russia reserved a slice of Austria for Serbia, and then the double victory of the Serbians. The latter's audacity and chauvinism now knew no bounds. During the last years Belgrade was the nursery of continual affronts to the monarchy and its sovereign, and the hot-bed of wide-spread conspiracies. The

40 Wer hat den Krieg verbrochen? (1915) 12. The following passages may be found there or in Uebersberger, Die Rolle Serbiens, in Deutschland und der Weltkrieg 422. Cf. also L. Mandl, Oesterreich-Ungarn und Serbien (1911) 15.

Austrian youth of Serbian nationality were brought to Belgrade for educational purposes and filled with hatred for the Habsburg dynasty. The press proclaimed the revolution in Austria; many assassinations were attempted and carried out. Precisely in 1913, the year in which, according to Giolitti and Take Jonescu, Austria meditated attack upon Serbia, a cautious Belgian observer fails to understand the presumption and contempt with which Serbia treats complaints of the Austrian cabinet except on the assumption of Russia's backing. (No. 103.) In numberless official actions, punishments and processes for lese-majesty Austria sought to check the movement, which had long since invaded Dalmatia and Croatia, and was gnawing at the very vitals of the state. Then came the bloody day of Serajewo.

This is the true view of Serbia's case, who, we are asked to believe, was ill-treated. Austria had the right and the duty, also as a Catholic state, to settle its account with Serbia. It had to break the ring that was encircling its body from the south.

Does Gaudeau know how Serbia received the news of the murder? The heart of the whole civilized world stopped beating for a moment, even the newspapers of the Entente expressed their horror, until they were forbidden to do so. In Serbia the crime was hailed with joy by many, insults to Austria continued and not a word of excuse or of explanation was offered by the Serbian officials until that 23rd of July. Will anybody be surprised or indignant over the short time given Serbia by Austria's ultimatum, over its severe form or the harsh demands it made? Austria had to have absolute clearness in the situation. She has been reproached with having demanded concessions which would destroy the integrity of the Serbian state. Austria declared that it wanted nothing permanently from Serbia, and on several occasions examples were cited of nations permitting themselves passing interference with the rights of sovereign states, among them Russia in particular. The concessions Serbia offered to make have been pronounced ample. But impartial examination proves that Serbia failed on just those points which would make a complete investigation of the net of conspiracies possible. Even at the last Austria was willing to yield in order to pave the way for a peaceful solution. But Russia did not want this and Serbia did not dare. The result was the declaration of war on the 28th of July.

It is not intended to give here a defense of Austria's procedure in detail. A higher authority, one that exists also for Gaudeau, has judged. Pope Pius X declared that Austria's war against Serbia is just, only too just.[41]

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41 "Hist.-polit. Blätter" 154 (1914) 599, according to the "Reichspost" of Vienna.

In order to understand and appreciate Germany's attitude two things must be noted: First, Germany knew for years the war sentiment and the preparations for war on the part of the Entente. It was acquainted in detail with all the agreements even to the plan of the Anglo-Russian Marine Agreement of May, 1914. It had this in its hands already, when, in July, the Russian minister Sasonow still declared to the German representative: "The Marine Agreement exists only in the brain of the 'Berliner Tageblatt' and in the moon."[42] It knew that the Pan-Slavic agitators would seize this occasion for war, and from an outsider it learned that Sasonow was perceptibly drifting into the current of the Russian war-party. It knew from a reliable source that since the 24th of July, that is, since the day when the Austrian ultimatum was published, Russia had decided on war. It had its warning. Second, in this dangerous situation Germany could count only on Austria. If it lost this friend, it stood alone against such overwhelming forces of the enemy, that its position was dangerous in the extreme. It was a duty of self-preservation to retain the confidence of this friend. Germany also knew perfectly well Serbia's murderous policy against Austria. Accordingly, its course in July, 1914, was clear; it had no alternative. What negotiations passed between it and Austria until July 23 is not known; the report that the German ambassador in Vienna drew up or helped draw up the Austrian ultimatum is a vague assertion with nothing to prove it.[43] The wording of the note was not known to Germany; so the German government officials declare, and we have no reason to doubt them. They did probably know the substance of its contents. Germany gave its consent and its terms and informed the powers that it approved "with all its heart" the end and the means sought by the note.[44] Its intelligence told it that it must not exert any pressure upon Austria to induce it to a policy of yielding which would shake the Austrian state in its very foundations. Such pressure—this is the judgment of a well-known statesman[45]—would have driven Austria in the direction of the Slavs, into the arms of Russia, for it would have felt itself abandoned at the moment of greatest danger, in the fight for its life. "A state like Austria"—these are Bismarck's words—"becomes estranged when left in the lurch, and will be inclined to offer its hand to him who has been the opponent of its unreliable friend."

Now did Germany hold herself passive in those decisive eight days and did she not coöperate for the maintenance of peace? If she had acted thus, she would only have imitated the example of France who in

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42 Aktenstücke zum Kriegsausbruch 56.
43 Thus the French expositions. Cf. also the documents in the second Belgian Grey Book.
44 The following passages are from Bergsträsser's compilation.
45 Andrássy in the book several times mentioned.

those days never thought of acting independently of Russia and took no pains to lessen the strained relations between Vienna and St. Petersburg. And yet the representative of this policy, Viviani, dared declare, on the 4th of August, at a solemn hour, that Germany never made an effort for peace! A passage from an intercepted letter of the Belgian chargé d'affaires in St. Petersburg, dated July 30, would alone suffice to refute this. In opposition to all the mutually contradictory reports it says: "It can not be gainsaid that Germany labored here as hard as in Vienna to find ways and means to avoid a general conflict."[46] This passage gives the key to the whole of Germany's activity. Germany's efforts could not centre on the Austro-Serbian affair, which was an internal affair of Austria. At most she could counsel moderation to Serbia, from whom, however, in view of her attitude toward Austria nothing was to be expected. What Germany kept steadfastly in view and what she worked for unceasingly in the last week of July, as the German reports testify, was the localization of the conflict between Austria and Serbia and the solution of the Serbian question without European intervention. She sought to make this idea prevail among the powers. She also promoted all other peace efforts. On July 25, in compliance with Grey's wish, she immediately requested Austria to extend the time set for Serbia's answer to the ultimatum. She was also willing to participate in a joint action by the four powers, for the purpose of counseling moderation in Vienna and St. Petersburg. Of course, when the powers wished to include Serbia's case in their action and thus, in a certain sense, sit in judgment on Austria's attitude toward Serbia, Germany had to withdraw. On the 25th of July the German ambassador in Paris proposed joint intervention of the two nations in St. Petersburg in the interests of peace. France declined to coöperate with Germany for fear of compromising herself! Nevertheless Germany remained true to this idea of exerting pressure both on Vienna and St. Petersburg. There is a striking proof for this in an English paper. The Berlin correspondent of the "Westminster Gazette" writes on August 1, 1914, that, in Vienna, Germany "with her urgent proposals went to the furthest limits possible over against a sovereign state and ally." In a dispatch sent to the German ambassador in Vienna there is said to have been the following passage: "We can not expect Austria-Hungary to negotiate with Serbia, but the refusal to enter into an exchange of opinions with St. Petersburg would be a serious mistake. We are ready to fulfill our duty, but as allies we must decline to be drawn into a world war by Austria-Hungary's refusal to give heed to our advice."[47] Austria acceded to this request of

[46] Aktenstücke zum Kriegsausbruch, 42.
[47] Cf. Oncken 552.

July 29. On July 30 there was a conciliatory conference between Count Berchtold and the Russian ambassador Schebeko in Vienna. But, unfortunately, it was too late!

It is not my task to give a detailed sketch of the activity of our opponents. France's peace endeavors keep within the shadow of Russia's; England's role can not yet be sketched quite convincingly. Apparently there are two periods in England's diplomatic activity: cautious endeavors to ascertain the possibilities of peace, until the 27th or 29th of July; after that progressive coöperation with France and Russia. The change in attitude was sharply defined by Grey's conduct on July 29. In itself the warning communicated to the German ambassador against a European war might have been considered as given to promote peace, but the circumstance that its contents were already known to the French ambassador the morning before gives it the character of an instigation and encouragement to war. So, too, Paul Cambon understood it, and on the following day presented to Grey the agreement made by letter in November, 1912. Grey acknowledged it and the resultant obligations. Now it only remained for him to find a sufficiently plausible reason for participation in the war. He found it in Germany's invasion of Belgium.

Russia was, without doubt, the chief firebrand in these days.[48] Already on July 25 she decided on the mobilization of a large part of her troops, ostensibly on account of Austria-Hungary's preparations. That the latter had no thought of an attack on Russia is clear. The mobilization has then no other meaning than that Russia intended to take a hand in the Austro-Serbian dispute. Despite entreaties and warnings on the part of the German Emperor and the German government, "the reservists in a certain number of governmental districts were called to the colors" on July 30 through the instrumentality of the papers. "He that is acquainted with the reserved tone of the official Russian communications," says the Belgian chargé, "may unhesitatingly assert that mobilization is going on everywhere." It was really so—two days before the German mobilization. Against whom was this general mobilization which the Russians shamefully denied to the last, intended? Not any more against Austria alone! Hence the German declaration of war followed.

Was this, was war inevitable for Germany? He that consults only the documents of that last week may hesitate a moment in forming his judgment, although even in these the will for war on the part of the

48 Cf. K. Helfferich, Die Entstehung des Weltkrieges 4. In substance probably correct.

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Entente states shines forth more clearly day by day. He that has learned to know the previous history and the sentiment of the three countries in the last decade, will be convinced that only unwavering resoluteness and determined measures could save Germany from the horrible fate of being crushed on all sides. The declaration of war of August 1 was necessary. When the just Judge shall one day determine each nation's degree of guilt in the world war, Germany's guilt will be the least.

3. Is the War a War of Religion?

By Dr. Heinrich *Schrörs*, Professor at the University of Bonn.

A RELIGIOUS war—a fatal, a dreadful word! The paper on which it is written, seems to tremble. Historical reminiscences rise, and with dull weight oppress the soul. For decades France was torn asunder in bloody strife for religion's sake; devastated and desecrated churches, pillaged and burned towns and villages, murdered citizens, and outraged women mark its course. The book, with the refutation of which we have to occupy ourselves, refers to these terrible years in the annals of its own country (51); and it charges the German armies with all the misdeeds that characterized them, as if the Germans followed in the footsteps of the French prototypes. During the same period the blessed fields of Flanders and its cities, abounding in works of art, witnessed the self same horrors of a religious war; the same Flanders, where now—according to our accusers—the German "barbarians" add new sacrileges to those of the iconolasts and the Gueux. We pass over in silence the Thirty Years War, which was kindled on account of religion, and tore our people into quivering fragments, and flung our country to a depth unheard of before in its history; it would not move French hatred to compassion, because it affected only Germany. The king of France did his part to put in motion Protestant fanaticism against the Catholic Church; and French gold supported the movement.

The word "religious war" raises deeper aversion by the feeling it stirs up in religious men than by the recollections of past events which it awakens. The eternal and most sacred thing, which strikes deeper into the earthly life than anything else, and will constitute, in contemplating love, the life of the hereafter—an object of the brutal force of arms; the innermost thing which fills the mind from the very dawn of reason and manifests itself in outward conduct—persecuted and stifled by external force; the thing which by its very nature is the most personal and free element, the inalienable right of conviction, placed under the ban and under the coercion of strangers and dissenters in the faith; the ecclesiastical worship, the expression of the longing for God and of the adoration due to Him, its sacred edifices facing the mouth of the

cannons, the men consecrated to it under the glare of the bayonets, or the women of active charity and mercy in the hands of a dissolute soldiery; the Catholic Church unarmed and defenseless abandoned to the savage fury of her enemies: That is the religious war! And this is the crime committed by Germany's armies, its leaders and its Emperor, the crime committed by the German nation! It is one of the greatest and most heinous offenses known to present age. And therefore it would be also a great and abominable crime to impute it to a people.

The religious war has its victims, faith has its martyrs. Not only the faithful, but also the indifferent and free-thinkers, feel for them the noblest compassion and the purest admiration, and place on the head of persecutors the condemnation of wrath and contempt. This is evidently the purpose of the work under consideration. No catchword returns more frequently than the word "Martyrs." But it is not perhaps used in that wider and more common sense, in which the languages employ it for those who suffer for the sake of a higher good? Oh no! We read (120, ff.) in connection with two examples, for which however no proof is brought forward but that of unnamed "witnesses," that the designation of "martyrs" is absolutely in its proper place, and is made use of with the "conscientiousness of a theologian"; for one of the unhappy victims was asked "to renounce the Catholic faith, if he wished to save his life," whereupon he was "maltreated unto blood" and executed. It is certainly astonishing that a new Nero or another Decius be not shown in the background. In this way religious Frenchmen, soldiers as well as civilians, are to be seized by a religious enthusiasm for, and a self-sacrificing devotion to the republic, which battles for the imperilled cause of Catholicism—the republic of Freemasons. The other part of the nation is to be stirred up against Germany by arousing humanitarian horror. The Catholics of neutral countries are to learn how much "the eldest daughter of the Church" (VII) fights and bleeds for this, their mother; they are to see that in the case of a German victory "the Gospel would suffer a setback—and what a setback"; and that "Holy Church would lose one of her strongholds—and what a stronghold" (276), the "main pillar of the house of God" (277). But upon Germany and her 24 millions of Catholics a mark of infamy should be fastened, that of hostility to the Church, a mark which burns like that of Cain who slew his pious brother Abel, and which is as ignominious as that of the slave, who must serve the darkest plots of his master. For it is "the sin of Germany to have suffered and retained the infection (with Protestantism) by Prussia; the Prussianized Germans are taken in tow by the heresies of Luther" (277). In this way, to speak with the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, does Catholic France care for its "good name" (V).

The thought of a religious struggle permeates all the essays of which the book is composed. When one writes about "the Christian laws of war," his remarks centre in the declaration embodying the statement of the maid of Orleans, that "to make war against France is to make war against God" (30). When another wishes to characterize "German culture and Catholicism," he speaks of "Germanic anti-Catholicism" and "the war let loose by it" (31, f.). A missionary lauds "the part played by France in behalf of Catholicism throughout the world," and concludes with the prophecy, that an unhappy issue of the war would mean "the final triumph of Lutheranism and Islamism" (77). The essay "The war against churches and priests" is exuberant with such ideas, like a glacier torrent rushing towards the valley and splashing its foam against every rock in its way. The long panegyric on "religion in the French army" should not have offered—one should think—an opportunity of casting the filth of hatred at us. And still there are a few small fissures, from which it gushes forth. The author of a letter from the front mentions the bombarding of the Reims cathedral, and adds: Did the Germans not wish thereby "to strike at the heart of Catholic France?" (200.) Poor France, poor Catholicism, if its heart's strength lies in a monument of stone! A chaplain describes his experiences on the battlefield. He sees it covered with the bodies of fallen enemies, among them he notices one of a peasant of Catholic France. How the unfortunate man suffered death, whether he was struck by a German or a French bullet, he does not know, and, of course, cannot know; but "probably the Germans fusilladed him" (167). This "probably" is characteristic. It betrays the longing and the wantonness of aspersing the enemy at any cost, of blackening him with the deepest color of enmity to Catholicism. And thus things are throughout the book; that one idea is like the central nervous system, which branches off into all sides and causes every part to quiver.

But do we not exaggerate? Do we always see right? Has our emotion perhaps placed a magnifying and distorting glass before our eyes? We turn over leaf after leaf, from cover to cover, and always find the same. A selection will show the correctness of our impression: "By the actions of her leaders and soldiers Germany . . . reveals herself as a convinced and active antagonist of Catholicism" (XI); as far as religion is concerned Germany is—for the Catholics of foreign countries—"a poisoner, all inflated with a poison produced within herself" (29); it was on purpose that Germany "seized first Catholic Belgium, and in Belgium all that is Catholic" (32); "the highest act of Germanism" is to induce men "to emigrate from the Church of Rome to the Evangelical community" (38); "Bismarck had the infernal idea of transplanting into

France the 'Kulturkampf,' after its termination in Germany" (48); the German Catholics have fallen into "a kind of delirium germanicum" (49); "at present we see the explosion of the terrible pagan pride, with which Germany is filled" (77); "this war . . . . aims at the destruction of the Catholic Church, of her authority and teaching, at the destruction of all religion" (81); "a frenzy . . . . against the sanctuaries and the shepherds of the Catholic Church" (86); "a shameless frenzy" (110); everything proceeds from "prearranged methods, from wicked calculations" (97), from a "Sadism hostile to religion (101), from an itching for sacrileges (102), from pure antireligious fanaticism (103), from an anti-Catholic fever" (118); "this war is, next to barbarism, Sadism and bestiality" (116); "the unfettering of hatred against religion" (121); "the sons of Luther driven on to the attack against a Catholic people (Belgium)" (129); etc.

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For an accusation of this kind, made in public, proof must be brought forward, which is sufficient, clear, and unimpeachable. An accusation, which is continually repeated and expressed in such reproachful language, presupposes documentary evidence of an overwhelming character. No country, outside of France, has known that this war is a war of religion; it is therefore a discovery, a revelation. And to authenticate it sources must be adduced, which are absolutely safe and above criticism. We take that as a matter of course in the case of scholars, such as the authors and "patrons" of the book are. Let us see how things stand with regard to the arguments brought forth.

The proof, it seems, should not be difficult to establish, if the thing itself were true. A world war is not an intrigue of cabinets covered by a dense veil of secrecy. Hence we might expect that something of its inner character and impelling motives became known, especially in this age of parliamentary publicity. At the beginning and during the course of no other war did men delve so quickly and so widely into the archives of foreign offices and many of the diplomatic cards have been laid bare. It is true that according to Talleyrand the language of statesmen has been invented, to conceal the thoughts, but still something in these documents should betray the idea of a religious war, if it were one. The war did not arise like a shot from a pistol. For years the threads were spun that tied the knot. It was prepared from a long distant past; this is precisely what the enemies of Germany reproach her for. Has there nothing of an anti-Catholic character come to the surface? Was there nothing said in the redundant speeches in the parliaments, where for years references were made to the future war, and where anti-Catholic sentiments were by no means kept in check? Diplomatic documents and parliamentary

utterances are usually the channels through which historical research gathers its information about the objects and plans of a modern war. But here nothing was found of an anti-Catholic feeling on the part of the Germans. The authors, instead of tracing up this historical argument, endeavor to captivate the reader with resounding statements, with inflamed rhetoric, and with glowing accounts of happenings on the battle field.

It may be objected that the silence of official tongues and pens finds its explanation in political prudence; matters such as these are not proclaimed on the high roads in a country that has 24 million Catholics, and is allied with a Catholic state. Let that be so. But then the literature of the day and the press need not seal their lips. There are thousands and thousands of papers in Germany; and since the beginning of the war a veritable avalanche of pamphlets, booklets, and books has been poured out upon the country. There surely must be a rich harvest for the French reapers searching for material on the subject of religious war. Of the abundance of the heart, the mouth speaketh, as the proverb says, and the anti-Catholic hatred of the German hearts, one should think, found manifold expression. Such was evidently the reasoning of the gentlemen on the Seine. They searched and they found. They have three witnesses in all, and what sort of witnesses! We shall see it presently. They were ashamed to tie them together in a bouquet; it would look too scanty indeed. And thus the evidences embellish the text here and there, like lonely mourning roses.

The "Berlin Lokal Anzeiger" published a short poem on the bombarding of the cathedral of Reims. Five clattering verses celebrate in a most foolish and detestable manner the end of Catholic worship in "the house of idolatry" (88). And that is all; not a word about the war as such being a religious war. In Germany nobody paid any attention to the poetaster; but to the world he is represented as a herald of "German thought" (88).

At the time of the victorious march of the German armies in the West the "Berliner Blatt"[49] prophesied that the fortress of Reims would be subdued by the 42 centimeter howitzers, and that then its "royal splendour, which goes back to the times of the 'floeur-de-lis,' would sink into dust." Royal splendour and "fleur-de-lis," what may this have to do with the Catholic Church of the 20. century and with the Catholicism of Republican France?

At first glance the third testimony seems to be of a mythical origin; for it comes from "Barnem in Westphalia," a locality not found in that

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[49] The paper is quoted under the above title. There is a paper of that name; but in the Album (12) the quotation is attributed to the "Berliner Tageblatt." We remit to French science the solution of this problem of documentary criticism.

beautiful province, nor anywhere else in the German Empire. A committee of women of that place is said to have uttered "wild outcries" caused by "folly, raging insanity, which under a religious varnish go to the extent of blasphemy" (275). If things are so, it might perhaps be better to leave the appreciation of this source to a psychiatric expert. However, these women have found ways to send "millions of copies of their production to all German soldiers" (275); and thus this proclamation from a madhouse assumes rather serious proportions. It says no more and no less than that the love proclaimed from the cross must step aside for the present and make room for the hatred "against our enemies." And since *Protestant* England and *Schismatic* Russia form by far the larger number of our enemies, it is evident that the war against *Catholicism* is here being preached, in the whole army and amongst the millions of our soldiers. An insignificant critical remark may be made here in passing but not insisted upon; for that would be pedantry towards such a striking argument. Since the good women of "Barnem in Westphalia" could not possibly know the names and particular military designations of the millions of soldiers, as the army-post requires; and since they could not possibly have hands enough to write the millions of addresses, it must be presumed that the General Staff or the "Kaiser" himself superintended the distribution. With all that it is very surprising, indeed, that the little pamphlet, carried by every soldier in his knapsack, is so little known in Germany.[50] However, that cannot make much difference; for it is generally known in France. *"Vous le savez,"* says the book.

In view of such a grandiose gathering of living witnesses it was almost superfluous to summon a writer from his grave. But an age of an hundred years constitutes venerability, and gives to truth a special flavor. In addition, it is a new proof that the religious war was planned long ago. Joseph Görres is said to have demanded in his paper "Der Rheinische Merkur" of April, 1814, the total destruction of the cathedral of Reims, "where Clovis was annointed, where the kingdom of the Franks was born" (125). But this cathedral is for Catholic France "the shrine of its national life," the heart of Catholic France (89). One of the men best acquainted with the writings of Görres, the editor of his works, twice looked through the April numbers 1814 and 1815 of the "Merkur,"

[50] After much searching we have succeeded in getting hold of the corpus delicti. It appears that certain women of the city of Barmen in the Berg district sent to the soldiers of their city a small book of poems for Christmas, which, however, was meant for private circulation only. Among the poems is the one translated into French, of which, however, three verses are omitted. The point and the sense of the whole poem are contained precisely in these three verses, from which we learn that for the present the hatred against the enemies "is the fruit of the highest love," because "the country is in sore distress." We may think what we like about the admissibility of the thought expressed, but we are not justified to speak of "blasphemy"; and it is not for a people filled with hatred against the Germans to complain if an obscure versifier preaches hatred against our oppressors. The millions of soldiers, to whom the poem is said to have been sent, is merely an invention; on the first page we read in heavy type: "To our Barmen warriors." In this manner arguments for the idea of a religious war are manufactured by unscrupulous misrepresentations and falsehoods.

as well as through all the numbers of both years, and discovered nothing of the kind; nor did he ever come across any similar suggestion in the other writings of Görres. He declares that the assertion is altogether impossible.[51] With regard to this classic passage, then, we must wait, until French scholarship will enlighten us. To use an expression of a learned French scholar: *"Indocti discant et ament meminisse periti."*

George Goyau is an historian. He said to himself: This cannot be the way of proving the war to be a religious war, the matter must be taken up from a different angle. Only a construction based on the great principles of the philosophy of history can serve as a substitute for the scarcity of actual witnesses. For that purpose he contributes his essay on Germanic culture and Catholicism.

For this bold edifice a few preparatory maneuvers were necessary. The *publicist* Goyau had to retouch considerably several statements of the *historian* Goyau. In his history of the German "Kulturkampf,"[52] published only two years ago, he said very correctly: "In 1871 some people commenced to say that the German Empire is an Evangelical empire," and therefore did he speak of a *"so-called* Evangelical kingdom" and of a *"so-called* Evangelical Empire." Now, at the head of his essay are found in an absolute form the words: "Evangelical Germany." This is the pedestal, which was necessary for his discovery that German culture is equivalent to Protestantism. Everybody knows that the above expressions were used at the time by some Protestants partly from a spirit of self-complacency, and partly from a spirit of antagonism to the Catholic Church; at present, however, they are not used, or at least are not applied to the war in the sense of Monsieur Goyau.

Formerly M. Goyau mentioned, not without a grain of sarcasm, certain "fabricators of history," who conceived the "Kulturkampf" as a struggle between two civilizations: the Germanic and the Roman, or as a struggle between Germanism and Romanism; and this in order to shelter this strife between Church and state of the seventies behind a uniform façade. Then, he showed to them that "the words struggle for culture, no matter how alluring they may appear, do not embrace nor exhaust the entire Kulturkampf." But now, wishing to blame Germanic culture for the alleged oppression of the Church in Belgium and France, he places himself amongst those "constructeurs" of history, and makes Germanic culture responsible for the persecution of German Catholics in the past.[53] To do that with an appearance of justification, he makes the

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51 Rosenberg, The German War and Catholicism, p. 74.

52 Bismarck et l'Eglise IV (Paris 1913) 221 ff. The italics are mine.

53 P. 30: L'Empire . . . s'est à deux reprises lancé dans une guerre, au nom de sa "culture" et pour le bénéfice de cette "culture."—On l'appela, en propres termes, la guerre pour la culture CULTURKAMPF. Et c'est en arborant ainsi le drapeau de la civilisation que la royauté prussienne déposa, emprissona, exila, archevêques et évêques.—P. 31 f: Il semble qu'au cours de ce premier CULTURKAMPF la "culture" allemande fit un premier essai de ses méthodes de despotisme.—P. 32: En 1914, une seconde guerre a été déchaînée par l'Allemagne—toujours sous le pavillon de la "culture" allemande.

absolutely *false* statement that "the Imperial Government adopted" the designation of "Kulturkampf" (30[1]).

Furthermore, Monsieur Goyau of today writes of the old "Kulturkampf" as of a *German* "Kulturkampf," a "Kulturkampf" of the *Empire* (31); he needed this for his thesis that the present war of Germany is nothing else but the legitimate continuation of the first. But Monsieur Goyau of yesterday, to judge from his book, knew very well that only a certain number of the federated states were seized by the conflict, and that the kingdoms of Bavaria and Wuerttemberg had none of it. Today he would make us also believe that Bismarck's political views and acts towards the Church were dictated by anti-Catholic instincts.[54] Let us quote here Monsieur Goyau against Monsieur Goyau. In 1913 he said with reference to the Chancellor: It would be unjust, we cannot repeat it too often, if we were to point out certain momentary discharges or outbursts of anger, and were to conclude therefrom, that the hatred of Catholicism was systematically one of the fundamental inspirations in Bismarck's policy.[55]

"Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis;" as to this each one must stand responsible to his own conscience. But it does not create a favorable impression, when such revisions appear necessary for one's own scholarly works of a very recent past. Neither does the deficiency of logical sequel in the present discussions, which betray a nervous moving back and forth, inspire much confidence. In the following we shall endeavor to hold them with the reins of logic; the brevity imposed upon us forces us to it.

Essence and end of Germanic culture is Lutheranism and its world dominion. There is a mathematical equation between Protestantism and Germanism (32, f.); such is the tenet proclaimed with much rhetorical drumbeating. From it the reader is expected to infer—the author is wise enough not to draw the inference himself—that the war is a campaign of the sons of Wittenberg against the Catholic Church. Clearness, of which the French mind boasts so much, cannot be denied to that proposition. But how about the truth and the proofs, which not only we "Boches," but also other people demand? With the sovereign assurance of a really great man Goyau answers: "I open the books of theologians, historians, political publicists, which Prussia scattered throughout Germany during the course of the 19. century as so many germs of its ephemeral greatness, and I find there on all pages"—the well known equation. Who amongst us would dare to claim knowledge of the immense

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54 P. 31: Bismarck . . . rêvait de je ne sais quelle dictature morale de l'Allemagne sur le monde, dictature qui ferait . . . s'humilier toutes les consciences devant l'anticatholicisme germanique.

55 Bismarck et l'Eglise.

literature of an entire century? The man in Paris apparently knows it, and is condescending enough to bestow upon us at least two of the fruits gathered from his reading. The historian Treitschke[56] once said: "The state of Prussia owes one of its foundations to a glorious theft perpetrated at the cost of the Roman Church" (secularization of the state of the Teutonic Order); and the same Treitschke declares the state of Prussia as being "one with the Protestant Church." So it is of Prussia, of territorial gains and of diplomacy that we may hear; but we were to hear of Germany and of culture, which both were to be shown to be identical with Protestantism! Sybel[57] wrote: "When the Prince Elector of Brandenburg went over to Protestantism, he became the champion of an independent Germany; on the contrary, Austria, by destroying the work of the reformation and by entrusting the education of her subjects to the Jesuits, broke forever with the traditions of the German spirit." This was in the 16. century, which is rather far removed from the twentieth.

With these two writers, the list not only of the historians, but also of the theologians and publicists of the entire 19. century is exhausted. But Goyau not only has read an immense amount, he also stood under the Protestant pulpits of Germany—under how many is not known for a certainty. There he heard the "current topic" of the superiority of the reformed nations over those subjected to Rome (34). It is regrettable that not a single example of such sermons is indicated, not a single place is named, and not a single name is given. No satisfaction can, indeed, be found in a passage taken from an undated letter, which an unnamed officer wrote once upon a time to a French writer (34)—a singular source, indeed, for an historian, such as Goyau wishes to appear. However, there is a redeeming feature in a quotation from the "Allgemeine evangelisch-lutherische Kirchenzeitung" (33). It is said to have appeared in that paper "towards the end of the year 1870." Rejoicing that at last I would be able to study a text used by Goyau in its original context and setting, I examined the last number of the year 1870 of the above journal, as well as all the numbers of the months of October, November, and December of the same year; and—neither did I find the passage referred to, nor anything that resembled its contents in any way.

But these star witnesses dismissed, no less a personage than William II., King of Prussia and German Emperor, is summoned before the French court (35). He admits that in private conversation he spoke of his "friend" Luther, of the man in whom he, the devout Evangelical, worships the great reformer. And should that not be a striking argument for the equation: Protestantism is Germanism, and for the fact that this is a war of religion? Still more. "Recently it was whispered

[56] Where?
[57] Where?

in Geneva that all his uniforms and addresses were ready for the day when he would go to the shores of the lake, and as sovereign bless the bulwark of the reformation. He dreamed, it appears, of certain mystical parades, which would exhibit him to the Genevese spectators in the character of supreme bishop of Protestantism" (35, f.). I have read, methinks, of more ingenious discoveries, and I think, too, that there must be better proofs of imperiousness than parades.

"But Brutus says, he was ambitious,
"And Brutus is an honorable man."

After having thus laid the scientific foundation by an exact investigation the "historien constructeur" may soar to the greatest heights, in order to take in the events of a century, as it were, in a bird's eye view, and to verify the world conquest of Protestantism. Naturally only the highest peaks can be taken into consideration, but they are on that account overwhelming in their strength as proofs. They are the following:

A diplomatic representative of Prussia, Baron Bunsen, opened in Rome the first Evangelical chapel, and celebrated this "first wedge" in a sonnet directed against the Vatican. The Prussian legation at the Vatican appears to have been established for the sole purpose of planting in Rome the "faith of Luther, to serve there as quarter master of Germanism"; later "official Germany" did the same thing with the same means (36). Unfortunately, the chapel in the palace of the embassy was opened since 1819,[58] and Bunsen took over the affairs of the embassy only in 1823; unfortunately, the German Empire never had a diplomatic representative at the Vatican; unfortunately, the cause of the establishment of an embassy on the part of Prussia was the imperative necessity of regulating the ecclesiastical affairs of its dominions and of concluding a concordat; and unfortunately, Bunsen throughout his life was a boastful visionary. These historical blunders may be viewed, on the other side of the Vosges, as immaterial flaws, although they form the complete presuppositions for the shocking fact that the establishment of the chapel was the symbol of the world conquest of German Protestantism "in the centre of Latin soil" and in the "Christian metropolis." After 1870, several Protestant sects built not only house oratories, but sumptuous public temples, in Rome. Why does Goyau not speak of this onward march of Protestantism into the centre of Catholicism? Because it was undertaken by English, American, and Romanic citizens. For a long time the chapel of the Sardinian embassy in London was the only place where Catholic services were held. This, it may be, was for Protestant England something like a blow to the heart!

[58] F. Nippold, Chr. C. Jos. Frhr. v. Bunsen I (Leipzig 1868) 164 f.

Outside of Rome Jerusalem was a centre of Christianity free from Protestantism. The historic seer of Paris perceives now, how in 1898 "something like a Lutheran crusade" proceeded thither. The Emperor dedicated the Evangelical church of the Saviour, and "in view of the Franciscan custodians of the Holy Land, in view of the representatives of the Catholic Church," he delivered an "insolent" discourse that was "offensive" to Catholicism (37). The text of the address as given and interpreted by Goyau reaches its climax in the words: "Now it is our turn," that is (according to Goyau): "Now it is Luther's turn;" Islamism is now to learn the true meaning of the person and of the teaching of Christ, "apparently travestied by Catholicism." In the address actually delivered by the Emperor, there is not a word of all that; it is rather a profession of sincere faith in Christ edifying even for the staunchest Catholic, and a profession of magnanimous Christian charity and toleration. The orator praises the "self-sacrificing Christian charity," the "common labor, which unites all Christians, above all denominations and nations, in the Apostolic faith." When did the chief representative of "Catholic" France ever utter words like these? The event fell so far short of being a German Lutheran propaganda celebration, that "many Evangelical believers from all parts of the world" took part in it, as the Imperial orator himself remarked.

William II. delivered an address in Bethlehem on another day, and the above quoted words are actually found in this one. But in what sense and in what connection? It will be sufficient to place the context before us to make the French calumny evident. The Emperor expresses sorrow over the mutual hostility among the Christian communities in Jerusalem and remarks: *"Politically* one piece after another is torn away from them under all possible pretexts, so that their influence has fallen completely, and things have come to this low level. Now it is our turn. The *German Empire* and the German name have now *acquired an esteem in the Osman Empire* as never before. It is now our duty to show, what the Christian religion really is, how the practice of *Christian charity* even towards the Mohammedans is simply our duty, and we should exhibit it not so much *by dogmas and attempts at conversion as rather by example."* Hence the subject matter is the *political* influence of the German Empire, and there is not the slightest allusion to Catholicism; not the Protestant denomination is called upon, but the example of universal Christian charity. And did the Emperor, at the same time that he dedicated the Protestant church, not make a gift to the Catholics of the "Dormitio," where afterwards arose a magnificent Catholic basilica? Goyau knows it, since he speaks of the "small piece of land," of the "small gift which he cast before the Catholics." Such words are

contemptible; I will not say what sentiment our judgment of them bears.[59]

Before taking possession of Jerusalem, Germany's "spirit of religious conquest" invaded Catholic Spain. A chapel in Madrid and two German ministers indicate the vastness of this assault upon Catholicism (37, f.). The fact that the country was flooded with Bibles from English Gibraltar, and that an apostate Spanish priest was employed by the Edinburgh Evangelization Society, and ordained by an Anglican bishop, was, of course, not an act of Protestant propaganda, because it was done by the "noble" ally.

Furthermore, Austria experienced the "Away-from Rome" movement. Its Austrian origin is known in Germany, since it was started by two Viennese students and a political charlatan. Certain people of Northern Germany have strongly supported it in the interest of Protestantism; but the statement of Goyau, dictated by the necessity of furnishing proofs for his thesis, viz. that this proselytizing was semi-officially aided by the "German governments," and that William II. was the "remote instigator" cannot be proved. It is much more convincing and simple to make the entire German people with its 24 million Catholics shout: "Away from Rome," as the Archbishop of Albi would have it in his pastoral letter (274).

There are some other allegations of a smaller caliber, which might be left to themselves. Such are e. g. the one that Bismarck's attempt of rousing other states against the Catholic Church was a menace to the law of nations; or the other, that the "German spirit" was enthusiastic over Gothic architecture only until its French and Catholic origin (32, f.) was made known. They betray about the same amount of knowledge concerning the history of art as concerning the law of nations.

In this manner Goyau closed the chain of evidence after a rapid but deep-searching historical survey, making much even of the smallest incident, which is always a mark of genius. It is certainly a fact: German culture has become aggressive Protestantism, and therefore the new "Kulturkampf" devastating the Catholic land of the Franks must be a religious war. But the reader is aroused quite abruptly after having been lead to this melancholic conclusion. For the master of grandiose historical concepts makes ready at once to instruct us that Protestant or even Christian ideas have absolutely nothing to do with German culture (39). Its representatives, the "Pan-Germanists," who with surprising dexterity are exchanged for the German people, are

[59] Goyau might have spoken with more justification of the Protestant Episcopal see of St. James in Jerusalem, founded by Frederick William IV. of Prussia, and in existence until 1881. He knows it very well (Bismarck et l'Eglise, I. 117); but he knows also that at the same time it was an Anglican see. He could scarcely accuse the allied Albion of a Protestant invasion into the "Christian metropolis." History is "made" also by suppression.

"hardly ever believing Christians;" they are "skeptics," and their religion is "anti-Christian," their God is either pantheistic or else comprises the heathen Germanic trinity: Odin, Wotan, Thor (45)[60]. With this new concept it is difficult to see how the scholar took so much pains in culling from the history of a century stones for his famous equation.[61] But let us listen for a moment to his new revelation. We need not tarry long; for it comes neither from the height nor from the depth.

It is certainly true that in Germany there has been a philosophy of pantheism, which still has its adepts. It is also true that this philosophy carries with it demands in the political and moral sphere which are in full opposition to the Gospel and moral teachings of Christ. But it is not true that these conclusions were generally drawn or acknowledged as necessary; that they dominate German intellectual life, as Goyau has it (40-43). It is a monstrous exaggeration to say that pantheism is "the foundation of the present German 'culture';" that it established the predominance of the theory of good and evil being identical, and the right of bare force; and that it proclaimed the despotic hegemony of the German race over the entire world. Such contentions must be sustained by proofs; but not even an attempt is made. No; our states, generally speaking, are still founded on Christian principles; our schools still inculcate the teaching and the morals of our Saviour; our people, in its vast majority, is still deeply religious; our social legislation is dictated by the ideas of justice and charity; our princes and statesmen and generals are men of faith and confidence in God, whilst Goyau dares to assert, that the metaphysical game of pantheism has become a "pastime for princes and swordsmen." The characteristics enumerated certainly may be taken as criterion of a nation's civilization. If Germanic culture, as it really is, gave its impress to the war, then it cannot bear an "anti-religious character" (105), then it is no "revelation of antireligious hatred" (120).

On our part we could, while following the scope of the book, present a counter bill, which would not only have its full value, but leave a balance in our favor. As Germany has its pantheism, so France has its positivism. And this is not merely an episode in French thought, it extends over nearly the entire 19. century. Furthermore, it did not remain merely a theorem of French science, but it leavened a good part of the national life. Leading statesmen, such as Gambetta and Jules Ferry, paid homage to it. It has become the creed of the all powerful freemasonry which dominates the country politically. It fills the heads of the State school teachers who set the tone in the communes. It con-

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60 Odin and Wotan, as is well known, are one and the same.

61 Gaudeau is very proud of it, because its inventor, as he says, possesses a "competency without parallel." We have learned to esteem this competency.

stitutes not only a philosophical school, but rather a sect. This positivism is atheistic. God, spirit, human personality as a substantial soul, are subjective imaginations without objective reality. Morality without God, and the school without religion, are the products of positivism. Its purposes, which it accomplished only too well, were to transform the nation into a society without God and king, and to establish firmly the republic and a "lay spirit." Its only ideals are country and humanity—two things, the sound of which reverberates even among the nationalist Catholics, as we may convince ourselves from the book. Hence, if we ask about the essence of the present French culture, it may be said to be positivist. And if the war on the part of France is produced by its culture, then it is a war for atheistic naturalism. Let it be understood, we do not make this assertion; for we regard the war as a struggle for political and economic supremacy. But with the method, according to which we are said to wage a religious war against Catholicism, we are even more justified to speak of a French religious war against belief in God and Christianity.

It is indeed more than surprising that Goyau with all his prejudice considers the Old German blusterers in Austria as full fledged representatives of German culture. For this handful of people, who enthuse over Wotan, who burn the fire at the solstice, who plant sacred oak trees, and who count their years from the battle of Noreja, has never been taken seriously by anyone except their own selves; and the saying: "C'est le ridicule qui tue," has some force also with us.

Within the "Catholic Committee for French Propaganda in Foreign Countries" the suspicion evidently made itself felt, that Goyau's philosophy of history is a little too aerial as to make a lasting impression. Unfortunately, men are realistic, and demand facts. And thus François Veuillot filled a gigantic bag with deeds of German cruelties, and panting for indignation, poured them at the feet of the reader. The trouble was not so very great; for official reports of the Belgian and French governments, Dutch, French, and Belgian pamphlets, also some episcopal utterances, offered a rich material. He has not seen, nor investigated anything himself. Official declarations of the German side were not to be had, so that the maxim "Audiatur et altera pars" was set aside. The sources of information came all from one side.

Under these circumstances caution and critical prudence would have been necessary; but nothing of that is apparent. Add to this that the material of these reports was often gathered with rash haste, from excited authors, from the mouth of witnesses rendered unbalanced by fright or anger. Every criminologist and every historian knows the doubtful value of such statements. There is a special science of the

psychology of evidences, which has brought to light exact results that are very surprising to laymen. In this light the trustworthiness of witnesses, even of those that are subjectively truthful, becomes very questionable; the natural insufficiency of observations made only once and under turbulent conditions, and the power of auto-suggestion and suggestion by others play here a very important part. A most searching and conscientious probing is therefore imperative. This is demanded by the historical method, which is also the method of sound reason and daily experience. Veuillot ignored it; he takes everything for granted without questioning. However, the official seal is not always a sufficient guarantee for truth.

It is not enough to ascertain the reality of facts in a case like this. The facts must also be adjudged correctly, if they are to prove anything. To become admissible as evidence they must show the following characteristics: Not to have issued from accidental coincidence of circumstances, nor from ordinary human weakness and passions; a definite purpose and a definite object must be unmistakably discernible; this purpose and this object must inalterably be found in them; other possible explanations must be excluded. Only then we may by induction arrive at valid conclusions. Science and practical reason agree on this point. In our case it should be shown with the exclusion of all possible doubt, that the hatred against the Catholic Church and the spirit of a religious war are the actual motives and the impulsive force of those facts. Did Veuillot proceed in this way? Has he even made an attempt at it? No, he simply presupposes a tendency acceptable to him, and covers the artifice with high-sounding phrases calculated to arouse religious passions and to stifle all earnest reflection. The reader is simply overwhelmed with them to fatigue.

He knows, however, that for the hard military facts furnished by him the German side has advanced the iron necessity of war. He knows it, and feels constrained to meet the assertion. But he does it more prudently than honestly, only at the end (124-136), while according to all logic the matter should have been dealt with at the beginning. In the first place the misdeeds of the Emperor's "hangmen" (114) are painted in the most vivid colors, and made to appear as manifestations of anti-Catholic rage; the idea of a religious war is pounded into the heads in a hundred ways; and then finally the question is raised, whether the accused did not adduce other explanations for their actions. Neither logic nor simple honesty proceeds in that way.

And how is the justification given by the German side refuted? According to the low-priced receipt of exaggeration. The destroyed churches, it is alleged, were not used as "fortresses". As if anyone ever

made such an assertion; as if that were at all possible with present day guns. But the prosecutor of religious war evades the fact that the church towers served or could easily serve as observation posts and signal stations. He denies it with regard to the cathedrals of Reims and Soissons, whilst he maintains an instructive silence with regard to the "thousand or more" other churches, the destruction of which is asserted (A 25). Here we have statement against statement. In the French statement we meet with the childish idea that no batteries could have been placed near the cathedral of Reims, because, on account of the church right in front and on account of other buildings in the neighborhood, they would not have had a free field; whilst the writer knows full well (126) that the German General Staff referred to guns placed in front of the cathedral. Furthermore, our friend does not seem to have heard anything about vertical guns. Still more absurd is the positive assertion that it was impossible to build batteries into the towers of the cathedrals (274). Otherwise the apology confines itself to a hail of invectives, such as: "pretenses," "improbability" and "audacity of lies," "interested excuse" (the French accusation is, of course, disinterested), "hypocrisy," "rare impudence," "attempt of incendiaries against churches," "deceitful assertion," "satisfaction of the old anti-Catholic hatred," (125-128). Of a refreshing naiveté is the statement made with apparent satisfaction, that the German artillery ceased firing as soon as the top of the spire was shot down (98). That is meant to be a proof of Protestant "rage" against Catholic churches; it is, on the contrary, a proof that only the removal of an observation post was aimed at. Confident of victory the writer draws then his conclusion: "Instead of proving their innocence they confirmed their criminal plots" (124). That is inverted logic! The accused need not prove his innocence, rather the accuser must establish the guilt.

The German complaints of cruelties practiced by the Belgian people upon our soldiers and wounded, as well as the treacherous assault upon our troops by civilians, are briefly dismissed as "shameless calumnies" (129) and as "hypocritical and poisonous fables" (131). It is certain that at the beginning of the war the ever busy fame invented many things—a circumstance peculiar to every war, and comprehensible in view of the enormous tension of men's minds. But there is no doubt that deplorable things did happen, and not only in isolated cases. The official reports of the German government with the testimony of witnesses and the judicial hearings adduce ample evidence. Far be it from us to assert that each and every one of these testimonies is conclusive; we would have to examine each one in particular before making a statement of that kind. But they may claim at least the same relative value as the negations of the enemy. And that is sufficient to disprove that facts like the

following are a consequence of the religious war being waged: the execution by court martial, the harsh treatment and banishment of ecclesiastics, things that became necessary on account of the francs-tireurs war perpetrated in communities, of which they were the religious heads. It is possible that in the swiftness of the onward march and in the cruel needs of the troops errors were not seldom committed, by which innocent victims were made. This would be exceedingly regrettable, but it would be human. Even sentences of a court martial might be wrong under such circumstances. But with all that the reproach that there was a "systematic haste" (133) in such proceedings utters its own condemnation. Nor can it be said that the German officers being indicted for "assassination of innocent people" (which is precisely the contention to be proven), are incapable to act as witnesses or of making official reports (132); and with as little justification can it be said that the German military courts are merely a parody (119). Only all lack of justice, and only biased passion can write in this manner. But Veuillot omits the one thing necessary, i. e. to bring forth the proof that the judges acted out of religious hatred; not a word is said on that subject. This defect is supplied by the rattling gun fire of passionate utterances.

François Veuillot is a journalist, a nephew, if I mistake not, of a more brilliant ancestor in the branch. It is significant that the Catholic intelligence of France chose a man of this light-armed profession to prepare the most important part of the indictment, viz. the gathering of facts. He plays the part of the State Attorney with the artifices of a reporter. The sensational headings indicate it: "The war against churches and priests" (18); "A religious war" (81); "The Golgotha of the churches" (87); "Their process of destruction" (97); "Sacrileges" (101); "Down with Catholicism! Death to the priests!" (104); "Brutalities" (106); "Assassinations" (116); "Outrages against Nuns" (121). The headings are entirely in accord with the dignity of the tendency.

Within these sensational outlines a multitude of selected horrors is grouped; and with piquing remarks care is taken to let the reader feel that the author graciously dispenses with much else, with "many authoritative and unanimous witnesses" (105). Everything is set in strong lights: Every church is a "sanctuary," every injury done to it a "sacrilege" or a "sacrilegious profanation," every punishment inflicted on an ecclesiastic a "martyrdom." The journalist does not refrain from comparing with the sublimest and holiest tragedy known in human history, the death of the Only Begotten Son of God on Mount Calvary, whatever the "murderous and diabolical drunkenness" (120) of the Germans is alleged to have done (87, 107, 118). And in this wise the unsuspecting reader, shaken

to the depths of his religious feelings, need not and cannot arrive at the reflective question: But is it all true, and are these things real signs of a religious war? "Sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas."

As may be easily understood, it is impossible to examine the alleged cases as to their double quality of being real facts and of springing from hatred of Catholicism. This would require careful investigations on the spot, and these perhaps would often lead to a "non liquet." Much, perhaps, will never be cleared up. Much has been presented in a different light in the German reports. Men often must relinquish much to the judgment of Him, of Whom it is written: "Paravit in judicio thronum suum" (Ps. 9, 8).

Who would deny the possibility that excesses have been committed by German soldiers, that their hands were raised against sacred things? It would be a miracle, if in the armies of millions, there were no rough and criminal elements, men that at home kept out of prison by mere good luck. In our time, when religious sentiment is so strained, it cannot be otherwise but that there are among the troops fanatics of unbelief or heresy, who at the proper occasion wreak their anger upon what they consider folly. In war each individual under certain circumstances possesses a terrible power and feels impelled to acts of violence. In spite of all discipline not everything can be avoided; it is impossible to place an officer near each soldier at every moment. And would even he, in the nerve-racking din of battle, remain always cool as in the drilling camp, or would he in his personal feeling always be free from religious prejudice?

A question on our side. There are also in France, if our information is correct, men capable of committing crimes; there are certain strata of the population glowing with the spirit of contempt for faith and Church. Is there not a number of them in the army; and would they not give free vent to their anti-religious instincts in the enemy country? Among the English mercenaries there are men coming from the ill-famed mob of the East End, or the coal mines of Wales; would they have regards for Catholic churches and priests in conquered territory? I shall say nothing of the Russian ally; for East Prussia cries out against him. I shall also pass over in silence the Mohammedan Turcoes and Spahis, the pagan Gurkhas and Sikhs, the half savage Senegalese, who stand under the allied banners. A nation which lets loose such "warriors" upon a Christian people, has certainly no right to complain of casual misdeeds of German soldiers. What would be said, if we discerned in all that the signs of a religious war? We are not doing it; we see in excesses only lamentable, but unavoidable side lights of the war.

"War is a rude, violent trade.
Nothing is gained with moderate means, all
Cannot be spared."

The poet who wrote this, observed the revolutionary armies of France on the soil of his country, and witnessed the deeds of the "Sansculottes."

It is a still greater injustice, appealing to the God of truth, to besmirch a whole people, the totality of its army, its noble leaders, and its illustrious Emperor, with the dreadful accusation of a religious war, on account of failings, which, true or false, capable of misinterpretation or not, are after all the failings of individuals, no matter how frequently they occur.

The German Empire numbers about 24 millions of Catholics, who form considerably more than one third of the entire population. They are not "Christians" whose names are written only in the books of baptismal or marriage records; they are, generally speaking, sincere in the profession of their faith, loyal to their Church, and full of ardent devotion to their chief pastor in the Chair of Peter. They proved it in the long and distressing period of the "Kulturkampf," and they underwent the heaviest sacrifices for their Catholic convictions. A part of this race of Christian heroes is still among the living; and the sons are not unworthy of their fathers. And now they are said to wage a brutal war against their own Church!

With a courage born of conviction, which knows that the highest of earthly gifts is at stake, did they take the blow directed at the national existence of their country; they stand faithful to Emperor and Empire, with an undivided enthusiasm, springing from the deepest ethical sentiment. And still others dare to impute to them the wicked crime that they wish to strike a fatal blow at Catholicism, for which their heart beats so strongly and so fully, as only that of a Catholic nation beats. Or do perhaps the Catholics of Germany not know of what character this war is? They, who live among their people, who take part in public affairs in a very prominent manner, whose best men sit in the counsels of the country? Or do they deceive the world and themselves on purpose, being hypocrites and cowards at the same time? How is it then, that at the sound of the words "religious war" coming from the other side, an unanimous cry of protest arose from their ranks, dulled only by the feeling of Catholic pain?[62] How is it then, that the 26 German bishops, headed by two Cardinals of the Roman Church, manifested openly their "anger and indignation over the insults done to the German fatherland and its glorious army in the book, 'La Guerre Allemande et le

62 Memorial of German Catholics (The German War and Catholicism, 11-16).

Catholicisme'"? Is there a man in the Catholic world, who has the effrontery to shake this unanimous testimony?

The German Empire is a confederation; it is governed by other princes, besides the Emperor. Among these princes there are Catholics of unconditional faithfulness to the Church and of spotless fidelity to their faith, the sacred heirloom of their dynasties. They also stand as fast in the present struggle for the common country as the rocky pinacles of our mountains. Can we presume that they wage a war of religion, a war against their own religion?

With us Catholic Austria battles in one and the same line. The venerable Emperor, of a deeply religious nature, is the ally of William II. A tradition of many centuries and the vital interests of the future chain the state and the imperial family to the Church. This community of interests in the war is a striking refutation of the French fable. The authors of the fable have felt it and cannot conceal their embarrassment. Sometimes they try to get over it by referring to Austria—with a much abused word—as "Germany's satellite" (IX), or by ejaculating a word of compassion (84), or by giving advice, which resembles the political wisdom of old aunt Mary (274).

And on the other side? We see there also allies. Alongside of France, which fancies to represent the "knighthood of Christ" (51) for the Catholic Church, marches Protestant England. The executioner of Catholic Ireland a defender of Catholicism! It is not so very long ago, when the "No popery" cries were heard in the streets of London, when Pope and Cardinals were hanged in effigy, and Anglican bishops and ministers of state gave their blessing to these manifestations, inaugurated because Catholic bishoprics were again to be established in England. When recently the English government, obeying the summons of political interests, accredited an ambassador to the Apostolic See, the old spirit stirred again. And all of a sudden this people together with France appears as the saviour against Protestantism. How did this miracle happen? Oh! During the war "thousands of its sons came in contact with the Catholic population of Flanders, with their French comrades, with priests," etc., and so prejudices vanished, and Catholic things gained favor (78).

To the "noble allies" (V) belongs also Schismatic Russia. According to the visionaries on the other side of the Vosges she was led on the way to conversion through the war, just like England. To the Poles she promised the "free practice of their religion," and "the rest will come in its own good time" (78). Russian promises! Pius X. was at the gates of death, he turned around once more, and answered: Lies! Unfortunate Gallicia testifies to what has happened in the very recent past.

The country was not yet conquered, but only occupied militarily, when the united Ruthenians were at once forced, by deceit and by compulsion, to apostatize from their Catholic faith, and when their Metropolitan was sent as prisoner to inner Russia, whilst a Schismatic occupied his see by the grace of the Czar. The long martyrdom of the Catholic Polanders and Ruthenians, which was continued until 8 million souls were torn away from the Church of Rome, is the work of that power, with which France must now defend "the most certain principles of humanity" (139). Whatever hostility against the Primacy of Rome has accumulated since the days of the break between East and West, continues to live in Moscovitism; and to its partisans one of the objects of the war is the freeing of the East from Catholicism, and thus the shaking to its foundations of the position of the Catholic Church in the world. That is the ultimate object of the ally, of whom Catholic France is so proud. If we really meant to speak of a religious war, it is here that we would find it.

* * *

This war a religious war! "Abortion, thou, of filth and fire"—Doctor Faust would say. We do not speak that way; we say in the simple prose of sorrow: A terribly sad picture of nationalistic blindness and un-Christian calumny! May our defense not be tainted with any drop of disesteem towards France, and particularly that France, which is still loyal to Holy Church; may no breath of hatred go out from it! Men have accused us, whom we learned to esteem on account of their scholarship, their steadfastness in faith, and the merits they acquired in the service of religion. Here defense was a duty. The writer of these pages belongs to those who honored and still honor Catholic France on account of the brilliant qualities it possesses. But we have the right to demand justice. We ask no more.

We love the land in which dwelled our fathers; we love the language taught to us by our mother; we love the people to whose race we belong; we love the share of culture which the Creator and Governor of the Universe gave us. No one will blame us for that. We rejoice in our country, because it regained unity and life after a long period of dissensions, and won for itself the place in Europe to which it is entitled on account of its greatness and strength. We wish to cling to our national and political unity, possessions which other peoples of the earth enjoy, and which France was the first to have, and which she guards with jealous care. We raise our eyes with faithfulness, reverence and pride to him who wears the imperial crown, and we trust in his sense of justice and

in his magnanimous character. Considering these things in the light of Christian philosophy, no man has a right to begrudge them to us.

We are not only good patriots, we are also children of the Catholic Church. Such we are with all the strength of our conviction and the full ardor of our hearts. A long history has proved it. The Catholic people of Germany has kept sacred the faith brought to its ancestors by the messengers of the Gospel, and this in sufferings and struggles and self-assertion, such as hardly another nation can show forth. Even now there is and operates in it a truly living Christianity. Unshaken and unshakable does it stand by the exalted chair, in which is enthroned the Vicar of Christ, and which is the centre of the "Una, Sancta, Catholica et Apostolica Ecclesia." May we then not ask to be considered and treated as full fledged "filii familias" in the home of the Church, alongside of the brethren from other lands, and—I dare add—alongside of those from France?[63]

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[63] In the French book we read: Il fallait à Dieu ici-bas un peuple missionnaire, c'est-à-dire un peuple à l'esprit assez ouvert pour chercher l'idéal, au coeur assez chaud pour s'en éprendre, à l'âme assez ardente pour tout lui sacrifier—un peuple assez artiste pour plaire, assez puissant pour s'imposer, assez grand pour se faire admirer, assez généreux pour se faire aimer, assez entraînant pour se faire suivre. Il fallait à Dieu . . . la France! (276 f)—En tout cas, si elle venait à perdre son poste d'honneur à l'avant-garde du Catholicisme, ce n'est pas l'Allemagne qui la remplacerait dans cette sublime fonction (277).—C'est la France, la France Catholique qui est le peuple élu de Dieu, ami du Christ, fils aîné et fidèle serviteur de la sainte Église! (278) —La France n'est pas un peuple ordinaire. Elle a des retours et des rebondissements inattendus. Elle est Catholique de naissance, de vocation, de tempérament, d'atavisme et d'hérédité (279).

4. The German People's Worship of God.

By Peter *Lippert*, S. J., Munich.

IT WAS August 1st, 1914, the day when Germany called her armies to the colors. In the evening, the writer of these lines happened to be at Feldkirch in the circle of his religious brethren. Some were discussing the incalculable events which had now begun their course. The others, the younger members of the Order, prepared in haste to return home to join their regiments. The weight of the tremendous hour was like a load on every one of us. Suddenly a Father, who had just returned from the little town, approached us saying: "Do you know what the German Kaiser has told the people in Berlin from the balcony of the imperial palace?" "And now I commend you to God. Now go to church; kneel down before God and ask His help for our brave army!" The Kaiser's words, so plain, yet so truly great and momentous, made an ineffaceable impression. For a few moments, there was a silence full of reverence. Our faces showed a solemnity such as does not thrill men's hearts except in the hours of solemn worship. Each and all, we felt that the terrible things which had now commenced their course were lifted by those words into the eternal world of God and placed in the light of Faith. The horrors of war seemed softened and glorified by their commendation, so full of confidence, to that God that rules the world and hath a care of His creatures.

The words of the Kaiser created the same impression everywhere. A solemn feeling, as well as a sense of comfort that springs from living trust in God, sank deep into the hearts and consecrated and sanctified them. Imploring and honoring God, the German people went forth into its war. God's name lingered upon every lip; God's commandment and God's call re-echoed in every ear and carried away every soul to sacrifices which, though great and heavy as never heard-of heretofore, yet appeared divinely willed and pleasing in the sight of God. "God with us!" Such has become the formula, such the battle cry of the German conduct of war.

This German worship of God, however, has been very grossly misconstrued and criticised by our enemies; it has called forth vehement

indignation and noisy protests. It has been termed an offense to God, base hypocrisy, megalomaniac blasphemy, a brutal mockery of the Christian conception of God. It has been said that the god to whom the Germans pray and whom they want to bring, at the point of their swords, to the subjugated nations, is not the God of Jesus Christ, but an idol,—Germany deified, "the German ego" (25[1]), or Wotan, the deity of the old pagan Germans and the symbol and personification of German nationality (43 ff). It has also been said that Germany's prayer is a blasphemy because its object is to call God's blessing upon horrible atrocities, that the thanks which Germany returns for the help of God is the thanks for crimes successfully perpetrated, and that her triumphant slogan "Our God" is nothing but Pan-Germanic arrogance which "wants to dominate heaven, the dominion of the world no longer satisfying German ambition" (52); that Germany wants, as it were, to steal God out of his heaven and monopolize Him in the interests of the Germans and their "God-chosen" Emperor (43).

If these charges were true, the German worship of God would, indeed, be one of the most heinous abominations ever perpetrated in the name and under the pretence of religion; it would be pharisaic hypocrisy and a real sacrilege.

It is, however, very unlikely that a whole people should all at once become guilty of so abominable a crime. A people among whom millions of truly religious and faithful Christians are found; a people governed by princes who, up to the time of the war, were regarded amiable, noble and generous; a people whose churches are filled on every Sunday with worshippers, yea, praying, kneeling, singing and communicating men; a people who through numberless societies and institutions has produced a wealth of religious and charitable work,—that such a people should now in reality be a people of idolaters and blasphemers, this, verily, is more than improbable.

Nevertheless, we are willing to analyze the German people's worship of God and test its sterling worth and purity. Every worship of God must comprise these three elements: *faith in God, prayer to God, and submission to God.* In the light of these requirements we shall examine the religious and Christian character of the German worship of God.

I. Does the German nation at all *believe in God?* The incongruity of such a question is self-evident. But let us put it in this way: Is it not true that Germany is the *classic land* of modern *atheism* and *atheistic science?* There have been, to be sure, and there are, men in Germany calling themselves atheists, denying the existence of God and opposing, "in the name of science," the belief in God. But such there are in all modern civilized countries. Kant, who influences nearly all

contemporaneous philosophy, raised doubts based on the theory of knowledge concerning the traditional proofs of God's existence, but did not deny the existence of God. He did rather present the reality of God as a postulate of morality and happiness. But is not Nietzsche the greatest and bitterest adversary and modern dethroner of God? And Nietzsche was a German! Yes, he was a German by birth, but a hater of Germans in his heart. And for the rest,—how grossly has this man been misunderstood, even in Germany, even by his so-called disciples and ardent admirers! When will it be understood that Nietzsche was no philosopher at all, that he neither taught any theses nor proclaimed a system? Nietzsche was a lyric poet who couched the grief of a God-forsaken soul in words than which there have none been heard among us more touching. No believer in God could have described as thrillingly as he did the terrible forlornness and despair of a godless existence. The elegy of the "dead God" has never been sung as rapturously as Nietzsche sang it. Was he, then, really a monster of malice and godlessness? Nietzsche's was a disordered and afflicted mind; he suffered under the tragic illusion that God misunderstood and misjudged him, and, therefore, mistook God for his enemy. His enmity to God was nothing but the despairing rage of an erring man who never had a clear conception of the God of Christians, but is yet dying with a longing for the things noblest and best. How this enemy of God would have rejoiced if he could have eluded his morbid ideas and recognized in the God of Christianity just that for which he was searching with all his heart!

Atheism which was characteristic of the spirit of the 18. century did not originate in Germany. Materialism which the encyclopaedists of the 18. century (de Lamettrie, Helvetius, Holbach, Lalande, and others) espoused under the cloak of science, was the real and radical exponent of atheism. The encyclopaedists were not Germans. Neither can Germany claim the honor of having produced the "Bible of Atheism," as the *"Système de la nature"* has been called by Voltaire. Furthermore, it was Auguste Comte, again not a German, who raised atheism to the dignity of a religion and surrounded it with a pompous cult. It was he who taught adoring mankind as *le grand Etre.*

We do not, on that account, mean to brand the French nation as the founder of modern atheism. For it will not do to make a nation in its entirety responsible for everything of which individuals have been guilty in word and deed. We merely want to emphasize the fact that it was not a German who ascribed divinity to mankind. And if, thereupon, others had accorded divine worship to the different nations, and a German had proclaimed the German nation as its own god,—this would have

been merely an imitation of French ideas, an imitation for which neither originality nor wit could be claimed.

The spirit permeating Germany's public life proves that atheistic philosophy has not flourished on German soil. The German nation recognizes in public life God's authority; but the German nation, according to the French accusation, is atheistic,—how shall we reconcile these contradictions? Even allowing that doubts may exist as to the sincerity of this public reverence of God, we cannot dispute the fact that the name of God is referred to in public; it appears in dignified documents and in ceremonious formality; it occurs in the schoolbooks of the children and in the proclamations of princes; it is surrounded with all signs of reverence and awe, confidence and gratitude. Now, exterior and public life is not meaningless, nor without influence on the morals and the innermost convictions of a people.

But how about the inner integrity, sincerity, and purity of the German faith in God? Is it a faith in the true, living God, the Creator of heaven and earth? Or is it faith in an artificial idol, in a product of German yearning and dreaming? Pointing up to heaven, Emperor Wilhelm II. said in a moment of profound emotion to Cardinal Hartmann of Cologne: "That One above us has come to our aid." Only blind passion can assert that the Kaiser meant to say that he, or the "German ego", is the god who brought success. Neither is there the slightest cause for the rash judgment that he refers to "Germany deified," in speaking of "our God," or to old Wotan, in encouraging his people to trust in "the old God."

The old God in whom also the new Germany trusts, is none other than the eternal God whose power and fidelity never wavers. He is verily the God of our fathers and great ancestors; the God of the Christian, and at the same time glorious, past of our people; the God whom the Germans of the grand medieval Empire worshipped; the God whose providence and guidance we recognize, with admiration and joy, in the history of the "Holy Roman Empire" which of yore ruled occidental Christianity and led it to victories. To his gracious providence it is due, so we firmly believe, that our nation, tormented and dismembered as it was at times, was saved again and again from unparalleled devastation and desolation. In the same God the Germans trusted when they rose one hundred years ago to shake off the unbearable yoke of a foreign despot and to regain their liberty. The God whose name went before the champions and bards of liberty as a symbol of their just cause, most assuredly was not an old pagan deity. How, indeed, could one address to a dead idol the prayer which Körner taught the German soldiers to recite before the battle: "Father, guide thou me! Lead me to victory,

lead me to death. Lord, I bow to thy behests! Lord, as thou willest, so lead thou me. God, I know thee! . . . Father, bless thou me! Into thy hands I commend my life. Thou canst take it, for thou hast given it. Whether I shall live or die, bless thou me. Father, I praise thee."[1] The God to whom they thus pray, is that old God of Christianity who had been "dethroned" during the French Revolution, the God who had been disavowed by the encyclopaedistic, anti-Christian "enlightenment", whom Anglo-French Deism has relegated to impotence and oblivion.

And thus we, too, when speaking of "the old God", have nothing else in mind than to profess our faith in him and our confidence in his everlasting fidelity. It is a paraphrase of God's testimony of Himself when in a moment of historic importance He spoke of Himself thus: "God said to Moses: Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel: HE WHO IS, hath sent me to you. And God said again to Moses: Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel: The Lord God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, hath sent me to you" (Ex. 3, 14 seq.). The meaning of this self-definition is that for God alone, who is existence itself, the unchangeable, eternal, perfect being, is it possible to keep his promise from generation unto generation: that he alone is the old God, "the Ancient of days" (Dan. 7, 9), who granted help and made promises to the forefathers and who for the sake of his immutable fidelity will not forsake the most distant descendant.

When the German people call upon the God of their fathers, they mean this living God who "is". Plain, unaffected folk are not fond of dry abstractions. If the Kaiser bade the people with bended knee pray to "the German ego", his bidding would either not be understood or be received with coldness. The "German Ego" is an artificial concept; it is not the living God. How can a healthy, industrious, practical people be expected to adore a bloodless concept, nay more, to deify itself? Every form of self-deification is a disease, an offspring of an overexcited brain. The cool and considerate people of German blood, naturally disposed to distrust exuberant sentiments and exaggerations and rather inclined to calm and calculating reasoning,—this people as a whole is incapable of a mental disease like self-deification in any form.

II. Faith in the living God finds expression in *prayer,* in supplication and thanksgiving. Is the German prayer really pious and pleasing to God? May it not be compared to the hypocritical and haughty prayer of the pharisee in the Temple? It is true, we pray to "our God",

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[1] Vater du, führe mich! Führ mich zum Siege, führ mich zum Tode! Herr, ich erkenne deine Gebote! Herr, wie du willst, so führe mich! Gott, ich erkenne dich! Vater du, segne mich! In deine Hände befehl' ich mein Leben, du kannst es nehmen, du hast es gegeben. Zum Leben, zum Sterben segne mich! Vater, ich preise dich. . . . Theod. Körner, Gebet während der Schlacht.

we pray with dauntless confidence that "God is with us." But we surely do not want to imply thereby that God is our racial god whom we begrudge other nations, whom we jealously want to confine within the German borders; we do not dream of laying claim to God as part of our desire to rule, or of making of him a national monopoly and our sole possession. On the contrary, we want to express that we belong to God, and that he is our God by His will as Creator: "For the sea is his, and he made it; and his hands formed the dry land. Come let us adore and fall down: and weep before the Lord that made us. For he is the Lord *our God;* and we are the people of his pasture and the sheep of his hand" (Ps. 94, 5 seq.). He who first sang this psalm, did certainly not intend to arrogate to himself the prerogative of possessing God exclusively. God is ours by our proffer of service, our submission, our willingness to live according to his will. We speak of "our" God, as the servant speaks of "his" master, and the child of "his" father; as even the poorest sinner invokes "his" God, so long as he trusts and hopes in him; as all thankful men upon the whole earth sing and pray: "Let us give thanks to our Lord God" (Preface of the Mass). Far be it from us to question, as it were, the right of God to hear and answer the prayers of his children of other nationalities, even if they pray for their victory and our defeat; or to take it ill when God afflicts and punishes us according to our sins.

No, we stand humbly before him, the sovereign judge of the world, and await from his hand our doom and our judgment, our reward and our retribution, our justification or our reprobation. "He that judgeth us, is the Lord." But when we say that he is with us, our good conscience rings in these words. If we should err, if our war were not just, and our hands not clean of shedding innocent blood, the guilt would be ours; but we are not conscious of a guilt willingly and consciously committed. In good faith and with a clear conscience we went into war; we are confident, therefore, that God will at least not punish us with the terrible punishment which one day will be inflicted upon those that are hypocritical, covetous, revengeful, and bloodthirsty. Good faith and a clear conscience, he cannot condemn. He does not disown those who seek him, even if they err in seeking him; he is with all who are of good will, even if they fail in their reasoning. And it is, and remains, a precious consolation not to be taken from us, that we are of good will, whether our enemies believe it or not. With holy awe we stand before God, but we dare confidently lift up our eyes to him, dare call him our God and father; for that he truly is for all men and all nations who are not guilty of the terrible blasphemy *"Ni Dieu, ni maître!"* Hence, why should he not be our God also? Why should not we, like the other nations, be permitted to pray: *"Our* father who art in heaven"?—and

to confess: "In thee, O Lord, we put our trust, and we shall not be confounded"? What else does this prayer express, if not the very same hope and trust that our much-maligned German slogan "Gott mit uns—God with us" signifies?

Every individual Christian must see and admire Providence in his life and the intricate paths along which he is led. The more ardent a man's living faith is, the keener his conviction will be that God is with even the lowliest and poorest human creature; that his gracious fatherly hand wisely and securely guides man,—if he only suffers himself to be led, by the voice of conscience, on the path of clearly recognized duty and divine dispositions. Hence, why should not a whole people have a similar faculty of perception? Is not God also the Lord of nations? How, then, can it be blasphemy, when we Germans, especially in this our darkest hour, trust in God's rule of the Universe, and having been delivered from the hands of so many enemies thankfully acknowledge that God has been with us? "If it had not been that the Lord was *with us,* let Israel now say: If it had not been that the Lord was *with us,* when men rose up against us, perhaps they had swallowed us up alive, when their fury was enkindled against us" (Ps. 123, 1 seq.). We may, therefore, rejoice in the success of our arms and sing from the bottom of our hearts that song of thanks of the delivered. It is no more than due homage which we render to God, the giver of all good things. Only the infidel dares deny God the honor due him, saying: "By the strength of my own hand I have done it, and by my own wisdom I have understood" (Is. 10, 13).

But is it, perhaps, an ill deed for which we thank God, and does on that account our prayer become a blasphemy? We do not propose to speak in this connection of the alleged atrocities of the German army. Only this much may be said here: Our conscience is free and clear on this score. The German armies as a *whole,* and especially their leaders, the German people, and its Emperor have committed no atrocity, nor approved of such, nor thanked God for the perpetration of such. The brave perseverance of our sons and brothers, the brilliant strategy of our generals, the successful defense of our country against devastation and oppression by the enemy, the propitious safeguarding of our political existence and of our necessary conditions of life,—that is what causes our prayers of thanksgiving to rise incessantly from sincere minds. And then, too, for our soldiers' piety, our wounded men's courage in suffering, our people's pathetic and touching sense of sacrifice,—for this also, and for this more than for aught else, we give thanks to God who through his grace works such miracles in human hearts.

And if especially we German Catholics join with a full heart in the

prayer of thanksgiving: "God with us," there is a particular motive,—gratitude for all the great and inspiring things which we have witnessed in the new Germany. In spite of the Kulturkampf we are heartily thankful to God for our country and the Empire. The Kulturkampf was a mistake and an end was put to it. But from that struggle a real abundance of graces and strength and divine blessing has come to us German Catholics. Saying today "God with us," we want to say naught else than what St. Paul said in thankfully praising the efficaciousness of grace: "By the grace of God, I am what I am; and his grace in me hath not been void" (1 Cor. 15, 10). Of course, with this prayer of thanksgiving there should never mingle voices of presumption, nor of complacent self-deceit! Temptations of this kind have not always been conquered. But on the whole, the German Catholics coöperated with the grace of God, not by mere words, not by rhetoric and empty phrases, but by practical, devoted and self-denying labor. And all who make such efforts, know by experience how many a bitterness, how many failures, frailties and imperfections accompany the struggles of even the most saintly men; they are being purified through sorrows and disappointments until no pharisaical vanity is mingled with the joyful thanksgiving: God and his grace have been with us, and his grace in us had not been void.

III. Belief in God is dead, and prayer to God void and vain, if at the same time *heart and will* do not *bow submissively* to the all-holy and sovereign *will of God* and to his natural and revealed commandments. Every man has his God-given calling, the position in the world which he must fill according to God's will, the mission for which he is chosen. Could it be otherwise with a nation? Are nations and their rulers not also instruments in the hands of God, messengers of his will, executioners of his judgments and heralds of his glory? A nation's natural calling is, indeed, willed by God. A duty is incumbent on it to secure itself, to create the conditions necessary for its existence, to make full use of its talents and faculties. In that sense it is called and chosen by God. How, then, can it be rebellion against God's supremacy, how subjugation of God to the national will, if a people speaks with pride and reverence of its calling, of its strength which it wants to exert in full measure, of its duty which it must perform?—if it becomes cognizant of its God-given historic mission and feels elated by the meek and at the same time grand and sublime thoughts which fill the hearts of all devout Christians conscious of a God-given mission and command?

Let us not be hypocrites, nor feign indignation. French bishops, too, proclaim that France is "the chosen people of God" (278), and that "God needed France" (277). The majority of the German people would

never in such exaggerated terms dare speak of Germany. But we do not want to criticise the French phrases, nor perceive in them proofs of arrogance. For, we suppose that our French brethren have an unobjectionable and even pious interpretation of these words. But, of one thing we believe ourselves to be positively convinced: When we speak of our German nation's calling and mission, of its having been chosen by God and having been enjoined with duties by Providence, we do not want to deny thereby the vocations of other nations, nor to belittle and judge them maliciously. That would be foolish indeed. For, according to the will of God the vocations of individuals are complements of each other, and one is dependent on another; the same and according to the same divine will, holds true for the vocations of nations. It is an incalculable loss for all, if one nation becomes forgetful of its mission; overthrows its most sacred traditions; abandons the roads and shatters the institutions of a glorious past; and thus ceases to be the splendor and the pearl it was in the jewelry of nations which the Lord has prepared for himself. On the other hand, it is a gain and a blessing for all peoples, if one of them,—should it even happen to be the German—seriously undertakes to fulfill its mission and to employ most profitably the gifts God has bestowed upon it.

With bitter irony and scornful countenance, our enemies point to Wilhelm II. as the "Chosen of God." Do they mean to say thereby that the Emperor wants to assume the place of the Messiah; that his ambitions scorn submission to God's will and arrogate privileges of which no other human being may boast? Our enemies know this prince as little as they know his people. When we call him our Emperor by the grace of God, and our God-given leader in this terrible struggle, there is not a shadow of arrogance towards God in this, neither of presumption towards other nations and rulers. It has been said above that every man is endowed with his particular calling. How much more, then, a prince ruling a nation of millions! And why should a prince of such power and influence as is vested in the monarch by the German constitution, not have a special role in the plans and designs of the divine government of the world? It is, after all, conceivable that tasks are set before him the like of which fall to the lot of few men. According to the precepts of Christianity, we must recognize and honor in the bearer of worldly authority the authority of God himself. Now, then, we may safely suppose that God has endowed, in times most grave, the bearer of his authority with extraordinary qualities. By obeying his summons we perform our duty as citizens; civil allegiance cannot be separated from the obligations enjoined on us by Divine Law, and God guides us, literally speaking, by such duties. Thus faith teaches us.

And now, looking back upon the events of the World War, we Germans do find, and confess with unspeakable gratitude, that Wilhelm II. has been a true leader and an ideal ruler in our hard struggle for existence; that he steeled our will and filled our hearts with confidence. Yes, indeed, he has been the king and emperor whom Providence gave us. In gravest dangers Emperor William has been for our people an interpreter of the divine will, such as every civil authority should be. He has been a faithful messenger and trustworthy ambassador of the divine will. Thus he lives in our hearts, and we shall not be deprived of the joy we find in our "God-chosen" Emperor.

This is what we have to say of the German people's worship of God, of our faith in God, of the meaning and the spirit of our prayer, of our resignation to God's will. It is always unpleasant to be compelled to give a public account of one's innermost and most sacred feelings, of one's relation to God. Unjust and monstrous accusations have forced us to do this, and we have conscientiously and according to our best knowledge given an account.

Therefore, we enter into judgment with ourselves and ask: How could our enemies hurl at us such wild accusations? Have we given no cause whatever? And here we strike our breasts and confess that Germany, and especially literary Germany is to blame if the German people's worship of God is now misconstrued and maligned. Many a sketch in our periodicals and humorous sheets, so-called "poems" in which sense is sacrificed to rhyme, wild declamations of eccentric admirers of Goethe and Heine and Nietzsche, mad ravings of "Pan-German" fanatics, absurd adulation heaped upon the German "character", the German "conscience", the German "faith", the German "mind", and similar catchwords,—have undermined our reputation abroad, have made us odious and ridiculous. In the face of our enemies, all this today makes us blush.

Still,—the indictment of our enemies as a whole is false and void. They have proved once again how uncritical and unjust is it to judge a whole nation merely from some of its literary representatives and from an arbitrary selection of its books and periodicals. Whoever knows the forces that have a determining influence upon the modern press in all countries, knows that many a voice is making itself heard in the press without finding an echo in the community; that views and intentions are expressed which are rejected by the majority of the people; that certain personages, literary works, "scientific" hypotheses, national dreams and fancies are advertised which leave the people as a whole cold and unsympathetic. Like all civilized nations, so we, too, have a philosophy, a literature, an art which have nothing in common with the feelings and sentiments of the people and delight in paradoxical contradictions to

common sense. In picture galleries pictures are exhibited inviting derision and incessant laughter; the book-stores offer books striving to arouse curiosity by their downright perversity. The rank and file of the people, however, far from being impressed, express their indulgent disapprobation by saying with Dr. Faust: "There must be such queer birds, however." The small group of Pan-German eccentrics, worshippers of Wotan, and Old Germans has never been backed by the German people. Does any one believe in earnest that the 24 millions of German Catholics really want to exchange faith in Jesus Christ for the cult of Wotan? And the 40 millions of German Protestants,—but in France and Italy they know too little of the Protestant population in Germany; they know only of the abstruse ideas of a few professors and of certain odious and offensive agitators; but they hardly know how much practical charity is shown, for instance, in Evangelical institutions; neither do they know of Heinrich Wichern and Friedrich v. Bodelschwingh.

The worship of God on the part of the Catholics and of the Protestants in Germany is innocent of the fantastic crimes and blasphemies with which it is charged. A German bishop (Faulhaber of Speyer) has expounded in a most striking manner that prayer which contains the best and purest worship of God, the Our Father, the Lord's Prayer. He applied it to the time of war; he made that prayer the interpreter of our hearts' innermost and sincerest feelings. He thereby voiced the sentiments that inspire the whole German nation, Catholics as well as Protestants. They all recognize their God in that same "Our Father" to whom Jesus Christ taught his disciples to pray; they recognize an expression of their own minds and hearts in the seven petitions which Christ put upon the lips of mankind.

5. Belgium's Neutrality and its Doom.

By Dr. jur. Godehard Joseph *Ebers*, Professor at the University of Muenster.

FOR years Germany desired and prepared for war, hence she plainly wages a predatory war; an unjust war of offense, an anti-Christian war; France on the other hand, is acting in self-defense; hence her cause is just!" This is the accusation which French Catholics have, before all the world, hurled against Germany. And the proof? Verbose deductions are to bear witness to the fact that German methods of warfare defy all conceptions of right and morals. And to prove the principal thesis, that Germany is waging an unjust war of aggression, the French confine themselves to the diplomatic documents, the insufficient military preparedness of France, but above all to the breach of Belgian neutrality which in itself, especially since the German Chancellor admitted it, is a crime so obvious, as to render superfluous the entering into particulars. It is, therefore, considered sufficient to call attention to the words in the pastoral letter of Cardinal Mercier for Christmas 1914: "Belgium was compelled by honor (Article 7. Treaty of 1839) to defend her independence; she has kept her word. The other powers had pledged themselves to respect and protect Belgian neutrality; Germany broke her pledge, England remained faithful!" (234) Indeed a grave reproach! In Germany's fateful hour on August 4, 1914, the Emperor solemnly bore witness: "With a pure conscience and a clean hand we shall unsheath the sword!"—words spoken at a time, when German troops probably had already crossed the Belgian border. Does the accusation brand these words a lie?

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When, as a result of the revolution of 1830, the southern provinces, which, up to that time, had served as a bulwark against the desires of conquest by France, were torn from the Kingdom of the United Netherlands, the powers were confronted with the difficult task to grant Belgium's request for independence, but at the same time—this is the conviction of all Belgian writers—to retain, in the interests of the European

equilibrium, the bastion against France in some other form.[1] Switzerland as a model, presented a way out of the difficulty. At the London Conference, January 20, 1831, the powers agreed to recognize the independence of Belgium, but stipulated the neutrality of the new state as *conditio sine qua non.* They consented to guarantee her neutrality as well as stability and inviolability of her domain, under the condition, however, that Belgium pledge herself to keep neutral toward every state and in no way to disturb their internal or foreign peace.[2] The conditions of the London Protocol were accepted[3] by the Belgian representatives and the newly elected king, Leopold, in the treaty of June 26, 1831 (the so-called 18 Articles), but, owing to the renewal of hostilities by Holland, were definitely formulated and ratified only in the so-called 24 Articles of Oct. 15, 1831. Article 7 reads: *La Belgique formera un état indépendant et perpétuellement neutre. Elle sera tenue d'observer cette même neutralité envers tous les autres états.* The previous form of the guarantee of Belgian neutrality, pertaining to her integrity and to the inviolability of her domain, was no longer considered. The five powers pledged themselves only indirectly; and by an additional clause to the final treaty of Nov. 15, 1831, with the King of the Belgians, to effect the carrying out of the 24 Articles, guaranteed her independence and permanent neutrality.[4] Holland, it is true, protested, but in the end acknowledged the 24 Articles in the treaty of peace April 19, 1839, on which day the five powers, in separate treaties with Holland and Belgium, gave the guarantee in which they *déclarent que les articles . . . sont considerés comme ayant la même force et valeur que s'ils étaient insérés textuellement dans le présent acte, et qu'ils se trouvent ainsi placés sous la garantie de leursdites Majestés.*

In what, then, did the permanent neutrality consist with which the powers presented the newly organized state and from which issued the marvelous development of the country formerly Europe's battlefield? What were the privileges and the obligations resulting therefrom for the powers and for the new state? The treaties of 1839 do not enumerate them in detail nor can international law draw up a code which adequately covers every case; it will remain for historical facts alone to determine the true conception of the term "permanent neutrality." Consequently, the extent of each separate case of permanent neutralization

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1 Cf. London Protocol of December 20, 1830.

2 Protocol of January 20, 1831, Art 5: La Belgique * * * formera un état perpétuellement neutre. Les cinq puissances lui garantissent cette neutralité perpétuelle ainsi que l'intégrité et l'inviolabilité de son territoire dans les limites mentioneés ci-dessus; Art. 6: Par une juste reciprocité la Belgique sera tenue d'observer cette neutralité envers tous les autres états et de ne porter aucune atteinet à leur tranquillité interieure ni extérieure.

3 The Articles 9 and 10 are almost identical with the ones just quoted excepting the addition of: en conservant toujours le droit de se défendre contre toute agression étrangère.

4 Art. 25: Les cours * * * garantissent à S. M. le Roi des Belges l'exécution de tous les articles qui précèdent.

can only be determined by the causes which led up to it. The object of the neutralization of Belgium, however, was not different from that of Luxemburg and Switzerland, namely, to secure in this way the integrity of a state, within range of one of the great powers, against desires of expansion by one or the other of these neighboring potentates and, thus, to avoid a change in the balance of power. At the same time, Belgium should—and this thought is voiced most forcibly again and again during the negotiations at London—remain a glacis against France in order to restore the imperiled European equilibrium. As none of the powers opposed the neutralization, Holland having retracted her protest in the treaty of 1839, it became the duty for all to respect this neutrality; in other words, to refrain from involving Belgium in any warlike undertaking; furthermore, this obligates the five great powers as guarantors to defend Belgium's neutrality against any encroachment, threat or attack. The desire to expand on the part of France was primarily thought of; nevertheless, the obligation to defend this warranty against all attack by a third party, rests with each of the powers of guarantors.

It is generally understood that the guarantee of neutrality embodies the surety of independence as well as the unchallenged possession of the neutralized territory. However, since Article 7 of the 24 Articles, in contradistinction to the London Protocol and the 18 Articles, mentions only an independent and permanent neutral Belgium, and nothing is said of a guarantee of integrity and inviolability of her domain, the conclusion is drawn, that at first the great powers wished also to grant, aside of neutrality, the integrity and inviolability of territory, but on second thought, so to speak, confined their pledge to independence and neutrality. This interpretation is not, perchance, the opinion of an unknown writer, but was given by E. Nys, who is perhaps the best known Belgian authority on International Law and enjoys full confidence of his government, which commissioned him as a delegate to the Court of Arbitration at The Hague. After full deliberation, and notwithstanding exhaustive and well founded opposition on the part of Minister Professor Descamps, this view was sustained.[5] Very recently also F. Norden, counsel at the Court of Appellation at Brussels, endeavors to justify this opinion.[6] In this connection he refers to the treaty on fortifications of December 14, 1831, which Belgium, in order to ratify the terms of the 24 Articles, was compelled to enter into with England, Prussia, Austria and Russia. By this treaty, it was made obligatory for Belgium to maintain in good order all forts erected by Wellington against France excepting five and, pursuant to a secret clause, which only became known in the year 1863,

[5] At first in 1901 in his "Études de droit international" II 125, and recently, in the second edition of his "Droit international" I (Bruxelles 1912) 424 f.

[6] La Belgique neutre et l'Allemagne d'après les hommes d'état et les juristes belges (Bruxelles 1915) 17 ff. 23 ff 72 ff.

Belgium, in the event of being menaced by an attack on these forts by France, was to reach an agreement with the four great powers.[7] As this means nothing more or less than the planned reinstatement of the Protocol of Aix-la-Chapelle of November 15, 1818, in which the English and Prussian right of occupation was embodied, Norden sees therein a proof, that the guarantee of the inviolability of Belgian soil was actually and deliberately revoked. He then comes to the conclusion that Belgium was neither bound to refuse Germany's demand of an unmolested passage, nor did Germany's disregard for the Belgian protest, strictly speaking, constitute a violation of her obligations toward Belgium or of the latter's inviolability, which, after the ratification of the 24 Articles, ceased to exist. Neither did it constitute a breach of Belgian neutrality, for Germany had no intention to induce Belgium to renounce her neutrality, nor to question Belgium's integrity, as was claimed by King Albert in his speech from the throne, Aug. 4, 1914. If these deductions are correct—and they appear to be conclusive—then the German invasion as such, was, as Schulte points out by calling attention to Nys' intimations,[8] no violation of the specific Belgian neutrality. Nevertheless the emphasis which Norden's explanations probably deserve, will not be applied thereto. Suffice it to say that prominent Belgians have candidly admitted the reproach of the German invasion to be void.

The treaties of 1839, however, have not only enjoined obligations on the guarantors, but also and primarily on the neutralized state. Belgium should—not in her own interest, but in the interests of the powers—be placed in a position that safeguards her against the embroilment of war, which would make her territory anew the battlefield of Europe. Hence it follows that the primary obligation of Belgium was not only to refrain from any participation in the present war, but also to abstain in times of peace from all actions, which could be construed as bellicose. Of such actions may be mentioned, above all, the entering into an offensive alliance, and also the mere participation in a political combination having aggressive tendencies toward a third state. Besides, neutrality is still more; it does not only consist in refraining from participation in a war, but also in genuine impartiality. If the balance of power is to be maintained, it is necessary for the neutralized country to assume the same attitude toward every state and not to favor

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7 En conséquence, dans le cas où, par malheur, la sûreté des forteresses, dont il est question, viendrait à être compromise, S. M. le roi des Belges concertera aveo les cours d' Autriche, de la Grande Bretagne, de Prusse et de Russie toutes les mesures que réclamera la conservation de ces forteresses, toujours sous la réserve de la neutralité de la Belgique. When the new fortifications of Antwerp were completed in the year 1863 there was no reason for withholding the news of the existence of the secret clause. The facts were presented by General Count Goblet d'Alviella, who participated in the negotiations in 1831, in his book: Des cinq grandes puissances de l'Europe dans leurs rapports politiques et militaires avec la Belgique. Une mission à Londres en 1831 (Bruxelles 1863). Cf. Norden, La Belgique neutre 27 31₂, and Schulte, Von der Neutralität Belgiens (Bonn 1915) p. 79, who also gives the text of the secret clause.

8 Von der Neutralität Belgiens (Bonn 1915) p. 67.

one to the detriment of the other. *Elle sera tenue d'observer cette même neutralité envers tous les autres états,* is the principle which recurs in every formulation of Belgian neutrality. Consequently, every action of the neutralized state, however peaceful in itself, must be avoided, if it tends in any way to disturb the balance of power, which in times of peace should prove particularly efficacious. Or would a cession of territory, the granting of the right of garrisoning, even in times of peace, not be looked upon as a violation of neutrality?[9] As early as 1840 a plan to create a tariff-union between France and Belgium was designated by England as a violation of neutrality, and the purchase of Belgian railroads by the French Eastern Railway Co. in the year 1868, was declared by the Belgian Government to be incompatible with her neutrality.[10]

On the other hand, the neutralized state has not only the right, but also the duty, to defend with arms, if necessary, its neutrality against any attack and even to secure and guard itself against any possible menace.[11] It behooves the state, therefore, to prepare in times of peace that its military forces, army and forts, are in a position and condition effectually to guard against, and repel, any attack. But here, also, *envers tous les autres états,* applies. This sentence at the same time offers a solution of the much-argued-about question as to the permittance of a mere defensive alliance in times of peace, before an attack actually threatens. A onesided alliance, directed against any one particular state, is irreconcilable to the principle of an identical neutrality for all states. Since the security of the neutral state rests essentially in the trust placed in the neutral attitude of the powers, it is evident that a onesided alliance is bound to create distrust on the part of the other states, especially in view of the fact that there is danger of the defensive alliance, through weakness of the neutralized state, turning into a dependency. With identical neutrality towards all states, only a number of treaties in the form of mutual guarantees could be considered. In case of a guaranteed neutrality this, however, becomes superfluous, because the guaranty-treaty is in itself a sort of defensive alliance of the neutralized state with all, against all, inasmuch as every power as guarantor has the right to interfere with any attempt to violate this neutrality.

Neutrality was imposed upon Belgium against her will by and for the interests of the great powers. These treaties established a legal situation in accordance with international law and which could be abrogated or changed only by common consent of all participants. Consequently, according to accepted standards, either a onesided cessation on part of

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9 Frank, Die belgische Neutralität (Tuebingen 1915) p. 22.

10 In unequivocal terms this obligation is defined at the end of the quoted Article 6. p. 88, note 2.

11 Cf. p. 90, note 7, the quoted clause in the 18 Articles.

the neutralized state, or a withdrawal of one of the guarantors, is inadmissible.

How did the powers as guarantors, how did Belgium fulfill the duties emanating from neutrality? Schulte summarizes as follows: During the whole period from 1839 to 1914 Belgium's neutrality was not once questioned by Prussia; nearly every Government of France, however, broached the subject of Belgium's annexation, and England in 1855 wanted to use Belgian soldiers in the Crimean War.[12] The validity of Belgian neutrality has never been questioned by an act of international law. However, one of the French plans, the well known draft of Benedetti in 1866, led to an agreement which, according to many writers, presupposes the fall of Belgian neutrality. Induced by Bismarck's revelations of Napoleon's intentions, Gladstone entered into identical treaties with France and Germany on August 9 and 11, 1870, which made it obligatory for each of the belligerents to respect Belgium's neutrality, providing the opponent does the same; otherwise England would intervene in favor of the power respecting this treaty. The French historian Albert Sorel and other writers opine, that this means a renewal of the treaty of 1839 and have drawn the conclusion that the powers at that time already looked upon the neutrality of Belgium as expired. Nevertheless, it was secured once more by the double treaty, which, as has been ascertained, expired in 1872. Colonel Ducarne is one of the Belgians, who in an official opinion, 1900-1901, set forth this same view. Colonel Ducarne is no one else but the Chief of the Belgian General Staff in 1906, who entered into the odious military agreement with the English military attaché.[13] The same viewpoint has been taken recently by Mr. Burgess, well known American professor of political law. Juridically and diplomatically this viewpoint has been rejected on the grounds that the contracting parties to the double-treaty, not being identical with the treaties of 1839, could not substitute them and, consequently, the point in question could only be a practical way to safeguard, in every instance, Belgium's neutrality, the obligation of which has not been questioned.[14] This is proved conclusively in the last sentence of Article 3 of the double treaty: After expiration of the reprieved treaty "the independence and neutrality of Belgium . . . shall continue as heretofore, pursuant to Article 1 of the quintuple-treaty of April 19, 1839."[15]

But how did Belgium discharge her obligations? Only too soon the prudent policies of Leopold I., who kept strictly neutral toward every one

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12 Schulte, Von der Neutralität Belgiens p. 77.
13 Schulte, l. c., p. 75.
14 Frank, Die belgische Neutralität p. 13.
15 Schönborn, Belgian Neutrality in "Deutschland und der Weltkrieg" (Leipsic 1915) 574.

concerned, were cast to the winds.[16] The first step was a change in the system of fortifications. Belgium forgot the obligation, enjoined on her by the powers and accepted in the treaty of December 14, 1831 by her King, to form a bastion against France and to maintain the forts on the French border in adequate condition; the old forts were razed, new ones were erected; at first at Antwerp and then, since 1887, the fortifications on the Meuse. From that time the Belgian border toward Germany has been armorplated as it were, but that toward France only secured by Namur in the southeast, from there to the coast and on the coast itself no protective measures have been taken. In this reversal of the front of the fortification system, the beginning of the doom of Belgium's neutrality is justly seen by many. This extensive fortification system required a larger army than Belgium could muster, even after she had taken recourse to general conscription. Was it not imperative under these conditions, to secure the good graces of one of the great powers?

As recently as 1890 men like Woeste and Beernaert, who have served Belgium well, emphatically and energetically remonstrated against the accusations of the French press, that King Leopold had entered into a military agreement with Germany, allowing the latter to pass unmolested over Belgian soil. But since 1900 the "peaceful permeation" of Belgium, through the medium of the French press, school and theatre, was brought about in an extensive way. Belgium, simultaneously, through the investment of enormous capital in France and Russia and by her participation in the capitalistic system of the Congo State with its manifold joint interests and oppositions, which made it necessary for her to cater to the good will of her most interested neighbor, England, economically became more and more dependent on the Entente powers. To this must be added the growing realization of the danger which, since the regrouping of the powers through the Entente policies of England, must threaten Belgium, especially from that country which, as long as it had been an outsider in any continental conflict, would exert its full influence in favor of Belgian neutrality.[17] This in itself showed how Belgium's own impotency could be ameliorated by the strength of others, in having recourse already in times of peace to that group of powers, which would most probably emerge victorious in the event of a conflict.

But how could this be reconciled with neutrality? Did real neutrality not demand an agreement with all the neighbors? Most assuredly.

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16 Nous ne pouvons jamais trop nous convaincre que la neutralité constitue le véritable but de notre politique. Nos efforts doivent viser sans cesse à la préserver et à nous assurer qu'elle demeure toujours loyale, légale et forte.

17 Cf. Hampe, Belgiens Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, (Leipsic 1915) 65 f 71 ff 74 f 78 ff. Cf. also the speech in the Senate by former Minister de Favereau which Schulte quotes (Von der Neutralität Belgiens 118 ff) and the reports of the Belgian Ambassadors published first in the "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," and reprinted in "Belgian Documents 1905-1914." Reports of Belgian representatives in Berlin, London and Paris to the Minister of the Exterior in Brussels, published by the Bureau of Foreign Affairs (Berlin 1915).

The object of the neutralization of Belgium: The safeguarding of the European equilibrium, the contents of the treaties of 1839: *Neutralité envers tous les autres états,* the universally accepted interpretation,—all pointed to an answer in the affirmative. However, in large circles of modern Belgium the judicial definition of neutrality and its ensuing obligations was perverted, in order to give, for political reasons, a negative answer to the above question. The rising selfconsciousness of the Belgians could not see in the forced neutrality an advantage, to which must be attributed the flourishing state of affairs in their country. Instead, they looked upon it as a cumbersome load, a shackle, which inhibited them from taking a prominent part in international life.[18] If Belgians did not wish to concur in Ducarne's opinion that neutrality had really expired, the above described conditions must of necessity lead them to deny all obligations and to expand to the fullest extent all privileges, simultaneously striving to find a way that would liberate them entirely. Whereas at an earlier period, in conformity to the prevalent opinion, the neutralized state acknowledged the existence of a number of important obligations in times of peace, later on an effort becomes apparent to attribute to the term neutrality significance only in the event of war. Consequently, Belgium could—on this all Belgian authors agree—not only form a defensive alliance, but alliances of any kind. Attorney Des Cressonnières even went so far as to advocate publicly an offensive and defensive alliance with Holland against Germany. Through these alliances Belgium at worst would violate her neutrality only during war, never, however, in times of peace. To facilitate casting off the irksome burden of neutrality, in opposition to the universally accepted theory, the thesis was proclaimed that Belgium is justified to annul her neutrality by arbitrary repeal and without consent of the signatory powers.[19]

It is true, the Belgian Government at no time dared, in the face of Europe, to approve officially of this contention. Nor were urgent warnings lacking; men, like the former Ministers Descamps (1901) and de Favereau (1909), as well as the Belgian ambassadors in Paris, London and Berlin, voiced their earnest disapproval. On the other hand, the advocacy of the idea by such men as Nys, Belgium's best known authority on political and international law, Brialmont, Belgium's most devoted and ardent soldier, necessarily was of decisive importance when, at the beginning of the year 1906, the tempter, in the person of the English Military Attaché Barnardiston, approached Ducarne, Chief of the Belgian General Staff.

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[18] If neutrality had been a hindrance when the Congo was procured, it became a cumbersome load when Belgium had to desist from her intention to participate at least with one corps of volunteers in the China expedition.

[19] Cf. Frank, Die belgische Neutralität 15 ff; Schulte, Von der Neutralität Belgiens 94 ff.

These transactions have not as yet been entirely cleared up. However, this is certain:[20] Ducarne neither rejected the Anglo-Franco-Belgian co-operation in the event of a German attack on Belgium, as not in accord with neutrality—for him Belgium's neutrality had ceased to exist long since—; nor was he satisfied with mere discussions of the English suggestions; but, moreover, devised a plan himself for joint operations and in a series of conversations, in which, according to his own report to the Minister of War, "the details of the problem became clearer," the plan was minutely discussed. This plan of operations, which was sanctioned by the English Chief of Generalstaff, Grierson, covers every detail in its minutest phase. The plan not only provides for forces of 100,000 men on both sides, for supreme command, for Belgian railway cars to transport the English troops—to be landed on the French coast—to the field of operations in Belgium, the requisitioning and billeting of troops and the caring for the wounded of the "allied armies," but also regulates questions of intermediary officers, interpreters, gendarmes, maps, photographs of the uniforms, special copies, translated into English, of special Belgian regulations; questions of minor importance, it is true, but which shed light on the intimate harmony. The necessity of maintaining through English support a system of espionage along the Rhine was also discussed.

The English endeavored to have these negotiations appear as of a "purely academic nature," with the object of considering the hypothetical violation of Belgium's neutrality by Germany. Verily, rather peculiar academic discussions which make it necessary to arrange farreaching details, in which the one party, Ducarne according to his own report, had occasion "to insist" on certain demands "as emphatically as I could insist on the necessity...," and the other party, Barnardiston, also "insisted" on specific demands. Furthermore: is it permissible in academic discussions to speak of "allied armies," of the "joint and simultaneous actions of the allied forces"? Above all, however, this is to be considered: The conversations have not been confined to military persons. Ducarne, in his written report to the Minister of War on April 10, 1906, which was found in an envelope with the embarrassing superscription *Conventions anglo-belges,* calls attention to Barnardiston's remark, that the English Ambassador would speak to the Foreign Minister regarding the question of intervention. De Favereau, Foreign Minister at that time, (1909), in a speech before the Senate, alluded to these negotiations in a way which today can hardly be misunderstood. Schulte is justified in drawing the conclusion from these words, that De Favereau

20 Cf. "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" October 13, and November 25, 1914, containing Brussels documents, now also published amongst others in "Aktenstücke zum Kriegsausbruch" by the Bureau of Foreign Affairs (Berlin 1915) 58 ff and in Rosenberg's book, "The German War and Catholicism" 87 ff.

opposed the negotiations of the Minister of War and that this was the reason for resigning his post in 1907.[21] However, not only the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had knowledge of these negotiations, but also the diplomatic representatives in foreign countries. Baron Greindl, Ambassador to Berlin for many years, speaks in his report of December 23, 1911, of Colonel Barnardiston's announcements as being "just as perfidious as they are naive."[22] Should it be possible that a doubt still existed as to the importance the government attached to these negotiations, this is overcome by the reports of the Belgian ambassadors, which recently have been made public. Among these there is another report from Greindl of April 5, 1906—several days before Ducarne sent his report to the Minister of War, in which the Ambassador speaks of "the singular step taken by Colonel Barnardiston with General Ducarne."[23] After all this the subterfuge of academic discussions will appear rather insidious. This much is certain: The most extensive aid was given the military plans of England in 1906, by the Belgian Military Staff, with the knowledge of the Belgian Government.

Sir Grey, replying to the speech of the German Chancellor, August 19, 1915, in a letter to the press, stated that these conversations were communicated neither to the Foreign Office nor to the War Office, knowledge of the report of these conversations being gained only through German publicity. This shows that the landing of English troops was contemplated only after an attack on Belgium by Germany had actually been accomplished; an agreement or understanding between the English and Belgian Governments did not exist. It may be safe to presume, that Grey only now gained knowledge of the confidential report of the Belgian Chief of Generalstaff to the Belgian Minister of War. However, there are other reports of Ducarne, entering into details on various phases of the co-operation of the English auxiliary corps, which were found in Brussels. Now if, according to these reports, the fact stands irrefutable that Grierson, the English Chief of Generalstaff, sanctioned the plan drawn up by Ducarne, is it logical to assume that these reports, bearing the superscription *Communiqué à Mr. Barnardiston (fin Mars)*, have been kept in the desk of the Military Attaché only for private use? Add to this that the file containing these papers also contained a document bearing the embarassing heading, *Intervention anglaise en Belgique,* and that this document was executed by an English author on English paper, setting forth after the remark *"These figures are under revision,"* what the English auxiliary-corps consists of, and it will be difficult to believe that this document had its origin

21 Schulte l. c. 112.
22 Aktenstücke etc. 59f; Cf. also Report of December 6, 1911 in Belgische Aktenstücke etc. No. 85, p. 100 ff, especially p. 101 f.
23 Belgische Aktenstücke, etc. No. 17, p. 21.

anywhere else but either in the English Ministry of War, or in the Office of the Generalstaff.[24] Possibly, however, Sir Grey distinguishes between Ministry of War and Office of the Generalstaff! Even though a formal treaty may not have materialized in 1906, the suspicion of an understanding on the part of France is not without foundation, inasmuch, as the plan of landing English troops on French soil, to be transported over French territory into Belgium, necessitates, to say the least, the taciturn consent or approval of France. This suspicion is strengthened by the discovery of a map among the secret documents showing the line of march through France. England's well known policies have always respected "non-binding" agreements more than solemn treaties. To be in a position to deny everything before Parliament, negotiations are carried on unofficially. If, as Waxweiler and recently also Sir Grey maintain, the agreement was only the result of the menacing invasion by Germany at that time, would it not have been the duty of Belgium to terminate all negotiations with England after the crisis had been averted? Did she do this? No! England does not release her prey so easily.

We have as yet no information that the negotiations have been continued from the time of September, 1906, until April, 1912.[25] This much, however, is certain. Instead of discontinuing the mutual understanding after the crisis of 1906, the same became more pronounced, in fact to such an extent, as to be absolutely incompatible with the general interpretation of a defensive alliance. The irrefutable proofs of this assertion are the secret handbooks of Belgium, relating to the topography of the country from a military point of view, published by the English Generalstaff and found on prisoners captured by the Germans.[26] Based on military observations, which, according to remarks of the various chapters, were inaugurated in 1909 and only interrupted by the present war, these books contain the most accurate data on strategy and tactics and are accompanied by maps, illustrating in minutest details the topography of the terrain; furthermore, detailed information is given of railway and traffic affairs, of the rolling stock, sluice-gates and bridges; then, too, descriptions of villages and towns, schedules showing requisitioning possibilities, number of quarters available for billeting as well as existing means of transportation, in fact all data required by a local commandant, not excluding a compilation of important information for aviators, which information was added in

24 "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," August 28, 1915.

25 In a memorandum to his report of the latter part of September, 1906, Ducarne remarks, that during the maneuvers the English Generalstaff gave him the assurance that 150,000 soldiers will be landed and that the time necessary for this force to go into action is shorter than was at first anticipated. The conversation between Jungbluth, Chief of Generalstaff, and Colonel Bridges, English Military Attaché, was carried on at the end of April, 1912. Aktenstücke, etc. 65 f. Rosenberg 39 f.

26 Aktenstücke, etc., 75 ff. Rosenberg 40.

1914. Waxweiler tried to show, that these handbooks were the product of a gigantic system of English espionage successfully inaugurated. But a glance at the contents of these books is sufficient to convince the most skeptical that, "without ready and farreaching assistance on the part of the Belgian Government and military authorities such work would not have been possible. The schedules about the billeting capacity, which deal with Belgium as if she were English territory, could only be derived from the Belgian Government. Without doubt official Belgian material has been used."

It is not surprising, therefore, that a whole package of requisition-blanks for 1914, to which was appended the British ambassadorial seal, was found in the office of the British "Centre of Espionage" in Brussels. These requisition-blanks show, that Dale Long, who was known as an English spy, was authorized as a member of the Generalstaff to make requisitions in Belgium for the English army. This signifies nothing less than the authority of an Englishman to issue mobilization orders in Belgium, which would not be possible without an understanding with the Belgian Government.[27] Is it merely a coincidence that, in apprehending Grand Watson, secretary of the English Legation, documents were found "with dates of the most confidential character pertaining to Belgian mobilization and the defense of Antwerp, worked out in 1913 and 1914?" Among these documents were circular orders addressed to the higher Belgian commands and signed in facsimile with the names of the Belgian Minister of War and the Chief of Generalstaff, also a summary of the session in May, 1913, of the Commission for Caring for the Wounded at the base of Antwerp. A handwritten notice of a report by Belgian gendarmes, advising French preparations for mobilization as early as July 27, 1914, may be of special interest.[28]

What does an unbiased cogitation of this overwhelming evidence reveal? Every state, as a matter of fact, endeavors to ascertain the military secrets of another. Every state has also the privilege to reveal to another any of her military affairs. But here we have the Generalstaff of one country revealing, with the assent of the government, to the Generalstaff of another country allied to a neighboring great power and which has covetous eyes fixed on annexation possibilities, not only minor military affairs, but the entire system of defense in minutest detail. And the state acting in this manner is a neutralized state, which, in order to safeguard the balance of power in Europe, pledged neutrality toward *all* the other states, *envers tous les autres états.* Can this be termed genuine neutrality toward all states? Does Belgium, by initiating England and France into her military secrets—thereby

27 Aktenstücke, etc., 74.
28 Aktenstücke, etc., 77 f.

making her defensive system worthless as far as these two powers are concerned, not disturb the equilibrium? To keep her neutrality inviolate, Belgium must either reveal her secrets to all guarantors or to none. Ambassador Greindl emphasized this obligation when he called attention to the political dangers of this onesided undertaking and urgently advised, to devise in advance also a plan of action against an attack from the Entente, a possibility which was not more or less remote than an attack by Germany.[29] A plan such as this, worked out by the Belgian Generalstaff only, could hardly have been considered sufficient, for neutrality toward all states presupposes the same treatment of all. Consequently, if the Belgian Government desired impartially to discharge the duty imposed by neutrality, a similar agreement should have also been made with Germany. That the Belgian Government not only neglected to do this, but continued to favor England to the highest degree, constitutes a serious breach of her international obligations and justifies Germany, as one of the guarantors, to proceed with most stringent measures.

But this is not all. During a conversation April 23, 1912, between Jungbluth, the Belgian Chief of Generalstaff, and Bridges, the English Military Attaché, the latter, with characteristic English disregard says bluntly, "at the time of the recent events (Morocco crisis in the summer of 1911), the British Government would have immediately effected a disembarkment in Belgium even if Belgium had not asked for assistance." Jungbluth timidly objected that for an undertaking of that kind the consent of the Belgian Government would be necessary. The Military Attaché responded that he knew this, "but that, since we (Belgium) were not strong enough to prevent the Germans from passing through our country, England would have landed her troops in Belgium under all circumstances" *(en tout état de cause)*.[30] The English representative frankly admits, that England under all circumstances, with or without the consent of the Belgian Government and also without previous attack of Belgium by Germany, would have landed her troops. This coincides with the remark of Lord Roberts in the "British Review," issue of August, 1913: In August, 1911, "our expeditionary forces have been as ready (as our fleet) to embark immediately for Flanders." Waxweiler again endeavors to come to the rescue by asserting that the response of the Military Attaché proves clearly, that England considered an embarkment only in the hypothetical event of a previous attack on Belgium by Germany, and as one of the guarantors she was not only justified in this course, but also in duty bound to protect Belgium's

29 Report of December 23, 1911. l. c. 59 f.
30 Aktenstücke, etc., 65 f. 72. Rosenberg 40.

neutrality even against the will of the neutralized state. He proves this by quoting only the first part of the reply of the Attaché and omitting the last but damaging words: "England would have landed her troops in Belgium under all circumstances." The counterproof is given by Lord Roberts, who, in the quoted issue, clearly states that the landing did not have in view the protection of Belgian neutrality nor the discharging of international obligations, but, as he admits with military frankness, *maintaining the balance of power in Europe.* In view of the entire Entente policies this is equivalent to France's throwing her weight in the balance against Germany.

Still the material is not exhausted: The declaration of the attaché imparts the information that England purposed to land troops not only during the crisis of 1911, but at any time when the war between the two groups of powers, which had been fostered for a long time by Entente policies, would be launched. A report of October 9, 1912, in the "Métropole," a semi-official paper of Belgium, leaves no doubt as to the true meaning of the words *en tout état de cause.* Here is an excerpt: "The Government . . . . knows that even those of the guarantors of neutrality to whom it looked up as being the ones to be trusted most, consider our defense only relatively adequate and do not attempt to conceal in the least, on the contrary advised us of the fact, that in case of an international conflict *(en cas de conflit international),* in which Belgium would become the field of battle, they would supply the deficiency in our defense by sending foreign troops into our territory."[31] Jungbluth views the matter in the same way; this is gleaned from a remark in the aforementioned report, that Bridges, while not clearly designating the place of landing, makes daily visits to Zeebruegge from Ostende during the Easter holidays (1912). And what does one of the highest military officials answer to this flagrant disregard of a sovereign state? Does he terminate the negotiations? Does he protest against England's intention to violate the guaranteed neutrality? Is neutrality even mentioned in the entire conversation? Nothing of the sort. Jungbluth calmly continues negotiations and only summons courage to remark, "we are, moreover, in a position to cope effectively with the situation of a German invasion of Belgian territory." Then, too, the Ministry of the Exterior (the confidential records of the conversation were found in its archives), and, as is apparent in the report of the "Métropole," the entire Ministry was apprised of the contents of the conversations—and does nothing. It does not disclose, as was required by *neutralité envers tous les autres états,* to

[31] Hampe (Belgiens Vergangenheit und Gegenwart 93) calls attention to the significance of this part of the interpretation of the remarks made by Bridges. The words "those of the guarantors" at the same time clearly implicate France.

the other guarantors the monstrous proceedings of England, does not ask for aid, although the gravity of the situation, which seemed to make a clash of arms inevitable between the two groups of powers, could not have been unknown to it. The Belgian Government does not even deem it necessary to protest to the English against the presumptuous and arrogant attitude of her Attaché, to effect at least the recall of this official. This proves that the Belgian Government was determined not to resist a violation of her neutrality by the Entente. The events fully justify the "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung," issue of August 28, 1915, in calling attention to the inconsistency: On the supposition that Germany intends the violation of Belgian neutrality, Belgium makes extensive preparations for an intervention by the English auxiliary-corps; upon the definite declaration of the English Military Attaché, that England purposes to violate Belgian neutrality—and it is safe to say would do so at a later conflict,—the Belgian Government does not crook a finger. Is that neutral? Again we ask: Can that be called neutrality?

Now Grey, after a whole year has elapsed, wrote the letter of April 7, 1913,—the motives are as yet somewhat obscure,—in which, as he asserts in his information to the press in August, 1915, he "categorically" declares "that we wish the neutrality not only of Belgium but of all other countries observed, and that we shall never send troops to such territory unless the neutrality is violated by some other power." If Grey emphasizes at the crucial point of his letter: "He is certain that the present government would never be the first to violate Belgium's neutrality, and he believes, that no English Government will ever attempt it, moreover, that public opinion in this country (England) would never countenance such deed," this does not sound as categorical as he would like to have it appear. Every bit as categorical were the declarations of Asquith and Grey in 1913 and 1914 in Parliament, when they denied the existence of any agreement which could in the least hamper or curtail the government or Parliament to decide for or against the participation in a war; nevertheless the written agreements existed, as was shown by the Grey-Cambon correspondence, November 22 and 23, 1912, which has been published meanwhile.[32] The phraseology of this indenture was of a nature to make it appear as if the agreement was not binding, and yet contained the eventual obligation of joint action in conformity with the finished plans of both generalstaffs, which presupposed Belgium as the future field of action.

Characteristic of the value of Grey's "categorical" declarations is a remark of the Belgian Ambassador Beyens, April 24, 1914, on the

32 English Bluebook No. 105, Appendix I. and II. Aktenstücke, etc. 50 f.

question, whether in the event of a Franco-German war, England would side with France: "We have the proof that the co-operation of the English army and the sending to the continent of an expeditionary force has been contemplated by the military officials of both countries. Would it be the same today, and must we still look with apprehension to the landing of English troops to aid us in the defense of our neutrality, which such action from the start would compromise"?[33] Verily, this denotes clearly enough that the Belgian government and its ambassadors, who, with a clear vision, discerned the dangers of the English policies for Belgium, did not see in the "categorical" declarations of Grey the safeguard, which he now desires to attribute to them. At least the words of Beyen prove that the Belgian government was fully aware of the fact, that the contemplated English landing for the protection of Belgian neutrality was only a pretext. And, still, Sir French who, according to the Franco-British plan of operation, was chosen as commander-in-chief of the English forces in the Belgian theatre of war, was permitted to study at leisure the future battlefield and was also supplied with the most accurate official data, which enabled him to compile the military manual, so valuable to leaders and their subalternes. And yet, nothing was divulged to any of the other powers.

Let us assume that the Belgian statesmen, upon the declarations of Grey—hence only after April, 1913, but what about the events before that?—really depended on England to land her troops merely for the protection of the threatened or violated neutrality—a supposition which is not very flattering to their perspicacity. The Belgian government, however, had no guarantee whatsoever that England, who in her well known way sets aside any treaty or any international law that conflicts with her interests—we need only mention Malta, Copenhagen, Egypt and, most recently, Greece,—would not take advantage of the knowledge gained by Belgium's imprudent revelation of her military strength and the resources of her entire defensive system. The country was thereby, in a military way, delivered to the mercy of the power in league with France and, thus, in fact, reduced to a British "vassal." I repeat, the Belgian Government had absolutely no guarantee, that the imparted information would not be used against its will, at a time and in a way which would materialize the aims of the right-of-might policies pursued for a number of years. This, however, constituted an immediate danger for Germany, menacing the

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[33] Belgische Aktenstücke, etc. No. 113, p. 133. Cf. Also the report of the Belgian Military Attaché in London in April, 1914, who speaks of the aim of the English policies in the following manner: Des circonstances, qu'il est impossible de déterminer mais qu'il faut prévoir, pourraient amener le Gouvernement Britannique à vouloir intervenir rapidement sur le continent et en particulier dans nos provinces. German Yellowbook: Belgian neutrality (Berlin 1914) 8.

balance of power, which was to be safeguarded by the neutralization of Belgium. Neutrality still existed on paper, but for Belgium's government as well as for France and England it had become a stratagem; the treaty of 1839 was in fact a "scrap of paper."

During the last decade Belgium, by entering into a permanent agreement with England and thereby with France, has grossly violated the obligation enjoined upon and solemnly accepted by her to keep her *neutralité envers tous les autres états;* England, the "guardian of international law, the protector of small states," and France have flagrantly broken their pledge as guarantors, to respect and protect Belgium's neutrality. After that Germany, as one of the other guarantors and the one being immediately menaced, would have been justified in armed intervention without further ado, to remind the treaty violator of her duty and to protect herself against the disturber of peace. The invasion by German troops would have been justified according to international law, even if Belgium had not, as has meanwhile been established, opened her borders to France for an immediate attack on Germany.

By this action, Belgium also waived the right of appealing to The Hague, against Germany, supporting her plea by the ordinary rights and obligations of neutral powers in case of a war on land. Such course presupposes that a state actually remain neutral, that is to say, maintain strict impartiality toward both belligerents. The agreement of The Hague, in fact, prohibits in Articles 2 and 5 the passing of troops of a nation at war through neutral territory, and enjoins upon the neutralized state the obligation to refuse permission of such passage on the grounds, that this would favor the strategical plans of one of the belligerents; moreover, the neutral country by such action would become a participant in war.[34] Belgium applied this obligation only toward Germany and not, as was her duty if she desired to remain neutral, also toward France. Before the German invasion, in fact, before sending the first German note on August 2, numerous automobiles with French officers, and French warplanes crossed Belgian territory toward the German border—and Belgium did not stir to intercept them. Furthermore, as has been ascertained by numerous official hearings under oath, French officers were actively engaged in Brussels even before the German note, several French regiments of cavalry with artillery crossed the Belgian border on July 31 and were

34 Cf. Bonfils, Manuel de droit international public, 6e éd. (Paris 1912) § 1460: La concession de passage constituerait de la part de l'état neutre une évidente violation des devoirs de neutralité, une véritable participation à la lutte en favorisant par ce passage les mouvements des armées et les conceptions stratégiques du belligérant. Nys concurs in this (Droit international III. 605 f) by quoting this text without making any comment.

friendly received by the populace; the 45. French infantry regiment was transported in auto trucks to Namur on July 30. (!)[35]

Belgium by this procedure abandoned her actual neutrality in the present war and became a belligerent herself. Germany was "justified to treat as foe the pretended neutral,"[36] consequently, she could have proceeded without any further negotiations against Belgium, the actual ally of France. Instead of availing herself of this right, Germany tried to save Belgium the horrors of war by requesting not once, but even, after the fall of Liege, a second time unmolested passage of her troops also, guaranteeing at the same time Belgium's independence and territorial integrity.

Habemus confitentem reum! exclaims Gaudeau (24) and cites the words of the German Chancellor of August 4, 1914: "Necessity knows no law . . . . Our troops have occupied Luxemburg and have possibly already entered upon Belgian soil. Gentlemen, that is a breach of international law. . . . The injustice—I speak openly—the injustice we thereby commit we will try to make good as soon as our military aims have been attained. He who . . . is fighting for his all, can only consider the one and best way to strike." Yes, this is what the German Chancellor said, but he said more, and this His Reverence the Canon pretermits. Just the words which furnish, as it were, the essence of the real meaning and the causal connection are omitted and merely indicated by dots. It is not a "square deal," speaking in colloquialisms, to accept the admissions of the defendant without considering extenuating circumstances, yea, circumstances which would preclude a trial on the grounds that the offense is not punishable, or to reveal to the judges, called to decide, the former and to conceal the latter. Not a word that the Chancellor emphasizes: "We are now acting in self-defense," "Whoever is menaced as we are;" nothing is said that he tried to justify the "wrong" by explaining: "The French Government has notified Brussels that it would respect Belgian neutrality as long as the adversary respects it. But we know that France stood ready for an invasion. France could wait, we could not. A French invasion in our flank on the lower Rhine might have proved disastrous. Thus we were forced to ignore the rightful protests of the Governments of Luxemburg and Belgium." Gaudeau substitutes all this with dots. Again: is that a "square deal?" is that French chivalry even towards a hated foe?

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35 Grasshoff, Belgiens Schuld (Berlin 1915) 14 ff. Rosenberg 47 f; Müller, Der Weltkrieg von 1914-1915, and "Der Zusammenbruch des Völkerrechts" (Berlin 1915) 39f, in which further proofs may be found.

36 Bonfils (Man. de droit intern. § 1460) continues: l'adversaire serait en droit de traiter en ennemi ce prétendu neutre.

The Chancellor pleads self-defense and extreme necessity. Both are, like in private and civil law, theoretically and practically recognized in international law.[37] Unfortunately, extreme necessity was pleaded in many cases, to justify obvious transgressions of international law.[38] Extreme necessity actually and indubitably abides, when the existence and independence of a state are at stake, and there is no other means of averting the danger than to violate a foreign right of inferior value. A citizen may, in anticipating an immediately impending illegitimate attack, not only counter attack (Self-defense), but he is also justified in encroaching upon the rights of the other, for instance on his property, if this is the only means of averting the danger threatening his life or body (Necessity). The encroachment which in itself is illegitimate, by the attending circumstances becomes legitimate. *Quod non est licitum lege, necessitas facit licitum,* is the rule as formulated in the code of canon law c. 4 X. V. 41.[39] The same applies to the life of nations. For the citizen, actions of self-defense and necessity constitute only a right, for the state they may become an obligation. The individual may immolate himself, the state, however, is not allowed to do this. The duty, to recognize a norm of international law or to keep a treaty, must yield to the higher duty of self-sustenance and self-defense, if the latter can only be accomplished by sacrificing the first. The nonobservance of the norm or of a treaty, ordinarily constitutes an illegitimate action; under the aforesaid circumstances, however, it not only becomes legitimate but obligatory. If extreme necessity compels this procedure, full restitution of all things damaged must be made. Is this not the same view point as presented by Catholic Moral Theology? I, a layman, need hardly expound this to the teacher of canon law.[40] He knows full well the doctrine of self-defense and extreme necessity, but just this must be the reason, why he pretermits the words of the Chancellor, which bear on this point. Truly, a very simple way of establishing conclusive evidence!

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37 In reference to violation of neutral territory see Lawrence, Principles of international law, 4e ed. (London 1910) 609: Extreme necessity will justify a temporary violation of neutral territory. Of Belgian writers refer to Rivier, Principes du droit des gens II (Paris 1899) 184: Verraes, Les lois de la guerre et la neutralité II (Bruxelles 1906) 57 f; Pandectes belges LXVIII (1901) 104. The French literature denies an extreme necessity, but speaks of "Military necessities," "the right of self-sustenance," which would justify a nation to depart from the norms of international law. The English opinion, however, is voiced, outside of the well-known assertions of Palmerstone and Gladstone, or as set forth in the article of the official (at that time) "Standard," Feb. 4, 1887, in which a German passage through Belgium specifically, is not looked upon as being in conflict with either Belgian neutrality or English interests. (Cf. Hampe, Belgiens Vergangenheit und Gegenwart 66 f), unmistakably in "Land Warfare," published by the War Office (London 1912) Art. 468, 3: Should a belligerent violate neutral territory by introducing troops, and in case the neutral power does not wish or is not able to resist, the opposing belligerent is justified to attack the foe on this neutral territory.

38 One may call attention to the shameless raid on Copenhagen by the British. England feared that Denmark would side with Napoleon.

39 Self-defense and extreme necessity according to canon law "Jus decretalium" of the late Rev. Fr. Wernz, S. J., General of the Society of Jesus, VI (Prati 1913) § 39.

40 Cf. the arguments of P. Bonvin, in the "Buffalo Volksfreund," November 7, 1914, and February 20, 1915, excerpt in Rosenberg 35.

Did Germany, then, really act in self-defense and extreme necessity? Positive proof that Belgium had violated her neutrality and had become an active member of the coalition antagonistic to Germany, has been gained only during the course of the present war. But long since circumstantial evidence in the hands of the government and the Generalstaff pointed to a connivance of Belgium with the Entente powers. For a long time fear over the attitude of Belgium in the event of a war was felt in political and military circles. The "peaceful permeation" efforts on the part of France were followed with uneasiness. English and French military writers inculcated into the mind of the world at large the idea, that an invasion of Belgium by the Entente powers was a matter of course and that the participation of Belgium against Germany was self-evident. Then there were rumors of plans of an English disembarkation, and the attitude of the English, French, and a part of the Belgium press in the Vlissingen affair, did not tend to silence these rumors any more than did the remarks of Lord Kitchener: The boundary of the British Empire in Europe is not the English Channel, but the line on the Meuse; or the revelations of Lord Roberts in the year 1913, referred to before. If these and other things, for instance, the inspection of the Meuse forts by French officers of the General Staff, were known to wide circles and caused discomfiture, would the members of the German General Staff, who obviously knew a good deal more, not take into account the probability of an attack, through Belgium, against the unfortified Rhenish-Westphalian industrial territory? The General Staff since March, 1913, was informed, by the Grey-Cambon correspondence of November, 1912, of the plan for joint operations of the English and French sea and land forces, as well as of the Anglo-Russian navy agreement,[41] and without further aid could arrive at a conclusion as to the imminent danger. This danger was aggravated by the attitude of the Belgian Government, which was regarded with well-founded suspicion, and was expected not to oppose an attack over Belgian territory, but rather to make common cause with the enemy.

Summarizing all these facts, one may easily realize the position in which Germany found herself in those critical days: On the morning of August 1, notwithstanding the German offer to guarantee not only Belgian neutrality but also the integrity of France and even that of the French colonies, Grey declined all obligations of England toward neutrality, "to retain a free hand"[42] that is to say, because he felt himself pledged entirely towards France. With this refusal, the partici-

41 Cf. Aktenstücke etc. 49 ff. 55 f.
42 English Bluebook No. 123.

pation of England in the war was a foregone conclusion with Germany. The participation of England, however, was not to be confined to the seas, but, pursuant to the agreement of 1912, was to consist of operations also on land. English troops on the continent could have but one purpose, an invasion through Belgium against the lower Rhine. This supposition was substantiated by reliable information about the intentions of France, received by the General Staff: Large forces were in readiness at Maubeuge and Givet, to be drawn up on the line Givet-Namur. Then, too, it was known that Belgium, even with the best intentions, could not withstand a Franco-British invasion, and as no preparations for such an attempt were being made, the suspicions of co-operation with the Entente were strengthened. And even if France, notwithstanding all reports to the contrary, would have kept her promise given to Belgium on August 1, to respect her neutrality as long as it was not violated by any other power,[43] Germany at best would have been compelled to mass large forces on the Belgian border, which must remain there idle until England or France, after the actions of the vast Russian armies had been carried out, could prepare to launch the decisive attack. England and France could afford to wait for Russia; for Germany, however,—and this caused the Emperor and the Chancellor to yield to the plans of the General Staff,—it was now, in fact, a matter of life and death to avail herself of her ability to mobilize and transport her army with astounding rapidity and precision, the possibility of which the adversaries not only admitted but also dreaded. Only by prompt action, the advantage of the opponents with their multitudinous forces could be balanced to some extent. The object was to attack one of the adversaries, and, by a telling blow carry the war into his land before the English auxiliary corps had an opportunity to co-operate, and before Russia could move her "Steamroller." The barrier, erected by nature and the hand of man, from Basle to Diedenhofen, made such a surprise attack impossible excepting at the north-eastern boundary of France.

Truly, if ever a position of compulsion existed, Germany now was in that position. Attacked from all sides in spite of her love for peace,[44] Germany must defend herself against three exasperated and mighty enemies, and take up the fight for her national existence. Self-defense against France! The attack threatening Germany's unprotected right flank, could only be averted by an immediate counter attack. Necessity toward Belgium! The imminent danger from France could only be

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43 French Yellowbook No. 122. How dishonest these declarations are is shown by the trespassing of French troops on Belgium soil even before August 1. The object, apparently, was to gain time over Germany, in order to accomplish the drawing up of troops and then, disregarding the German protest, to advance on the lower Rhine.

44 The best evidence are the reports of the Belgian ambassadors, published in "Belgische Aktenstücke etc."

averted by a breach of Belgian neutrality. Self-defense against Belgium also, because, even before the first German note, French officers and troops, military automobile-trucks and warplanes crossed the Belgian border without meeting the slightest resistance.

But again, *habemus confitentem reum!* The Chancellor in referring to self-defense and extreme necessity speaks of a "wrong" that Germany committed. This is, indeed, a contradiction; self-defense and extreme necessity preclude the unlawfulness of the otherwise illegitimate action. Now, there is no mistaking the fact[45] that the Chancellor uttered these words in behalf of the German Government during the fateful hour of Germany, in a speech designed to make to the world at large, and in particular to Belgium and England, a declaration of high political significance. But who would look for the cautious and premeditated utterances of a professor of international law in an action of high political significance? The Chancellor did not speak as jurist, but as statesman and as the leader of German politics, fully aware of his moral responsibility. And the object of this speech? The German Government still hoped, notwithstanding unmistakable signs of a connivance of Belgium with the Entente, that the Belgian Government would spare its flourishing country and retire under protest to Antwerp. Germany in her own interest had to give Belgium the choice of this course. It would not do to charge the Belgian Government with secret agreements with France, as long as documentary evidence to this effect was missing, and to look from the start upon Belgium as her foe. By pursuing the same course that was taken in sending the two notes[46] to Belgium, the Chancellor endeavored to secure passage for the armies not as a demand founded on right[47] but by sharply distinguishing between self-defense against France and extreme necessity regarding Belgium. He admitted, therefore, the formal legal objection of Belgium against Germany's trespassing on her soil, and entertains the hope that by guaranteeing complete restitution and absolute territorial integrity, he might prevail on the Belgian Government and people to refrain from giving active support to France. A golden bridge was to be constructed for Belgium to facilitate her taking a stand in the matter. That Germany was sincere in her offers is shown by her second "request" after the storming of Liege.

Still more. On August 4, after Grey had refused to remain neutral, although Germany pledged herself to abide by all reasonable demands, Berlin still entertained some hope to keep England from entering

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[45] Cf. Schönborn. The Neutrality of Belgium in "Deutschland und der Weltkreig" 566 ff and Müller, Der Weltkrieg von 1914-1915, and "Der Zusammenbruch des Völkerrechtes" 28 f.
[46] Belgian Graybook No. 20 and 27; Aktenstücke etc. 38.
[47] The words: "France could wait, we could not," insinuate that Germany knew more than she admitted. English Bluebook No. 148, and French Yellowbook No. 137.

the vortex. Germany at that time did not know that Grey, even before the first German note to Belgium, had pledged France unconditional assistance in arms in case of an attack on the French coast[48] and was only waiting for the German invasion, to have a plausible reason for creating sentiment in Parliament and public opinion in favor of war. If the Chancellor had publicly charged Belgium as being an ally of the Entente, England thereby would have been seriously compromised and deprived of the last possibility of standing aloof. The declaration of the Chancellor before the whole world, that he looked upon the invasion as a "wrong" simply meant to allay any fear on the part of England that a victorious Germany might permanently occupy the Belgian coast, where she could menace British interests of vital import, and at the same time constituted the strongest warranty for the clearing of Belgian territory later on.[49]

"Belgium was," according to the words of Cardinal Mercier, "compelled by honor to defend her independence" (234), it was her duty to keep her neutrality inviolate over against all states. The Belgian Government violated this duty long before the outbreak of the war, sold Belgium's honor to England, relinquished her political and military independence in favor of England. Belgium did not keep her word to remain neutral toward every state, she broke her pledge! The powers pledged themselves to respect and protect Belgian neutrality. France and England have not been faithful to their promise! France made of Belgium a tool to carry out her policies of revenge, England made of her a counterscarp for the defense of English interests. Germany was willing to yield her right to punish faithless Belgium and even offered her hand to restore her freedom and independence. Belgium spurned the offer. She alone must bear the consequences.

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48 English Bluebook No. 148 and French Yellowbook No. 137.

49 From the same point of view, the German ambassador in London, on the eve of August 4, immediately before the English ultimatum, repeated, under instructions from the Foreign Office, in positive form the declaration that Germany, even in the event of a clash of arms, under no pretense would annex Belgian territory; however, the German army could not be exposed to a French attack through Belgium, which according to absolutely reliable information, was intended (English Bluebook No. 157).

6. German Philosophy and the World War.

By Professor Dr. Franz *Sawicki* in Pelplin.

PHILOSOPHY and life are intimately related. They act and react one upon the other. Great thinkers are in many ways the children of their age; they imbibe the ideas and prevailing sentiments of their environment. Thus, in the main, the philosophical systems of a period mirror the trend of national thought. On the other hand, philosophy influences life. By a thousand channels the theories of the scholar filter into all strata of society and mold the ideals and practical views of the people.

Hence, the attempt of the French Catholics to connect German philosophy with the supposed policy of violence, of which they accuse Germany, represents a very skillful move. If such a relation can be established with some show of plausibility, their accusation is thereby strongly reinforced and becomes antecedently probable and very credible. Moreover, the deeds themselves take on a different complexion if they appear, not as a result of suddenly aroused passion, but as the outcome of an elaborate system of thought.

The discussions on German philosophy are to be found in Gaudeau's essay on the laws of Christian warfare; in Goyau's article on "German Culture and Catholicism," and in the reply of the Catholic University of Paris to the protest of the German scholars. Casual allusions to the subject are scattered throughout the pages of the book.

The indictment is a very grave one. It claims that German philosophy substitutes might for right and denies the binding force of the moral order: "The German ego recognizes no absolute rules of conduct and no ethical or religious standards superior to itself" (25). The only law, to which it bows, is expediency. In its dealings with its fellowmen its only appeal is to might. "The emotions of love and compassion are weakness and folly; strife and ruthlessness are the powers that create the future" (42).

Such principles, it is alleged, inspire the international policies of Germany. According to this view, the German people regards it as an axiom that all moral considerations are to be subordinated to its interests,

and that nothing may be allowed to interfere with its progress. Of course, the German vocabulary contains such terms as right, justice, morality, god, religion; but their sense is perverted; "they are merely symbols of the German ego" (25). Germany is regarded as the highest good, and whatever contributes towards its expansion is just and praiseworthy.

This philosophy results in an entirely new, totally anti-Christian conception of war. "It canonizes predatory warfare; it exalts rapine, injustice, falsehood, cruelty and terrorism" (25 f.).

These theories are not the vagaries of a few unsound thinkers; but they have thoroughly infected the popular mind of Germany (285).

And here is the evidence for this monstrous arraignment. The accusation is based on the ethical ideas of Kant, Hegel and Nietzsche. The latter has frankly proclaimed the right of the strongest; Hegel has announced the inherent justice of accomplished facts. Kant has divorced right from morality and has maintained, that the essence of right consists in its capacity to be enforced. He has also propounded the autonomy of man and constituted him his own legislator and judge. "Has not Kant laid down the principle that every one should so act that his actions might become a universal rule, leaving it to his own conscience to determine if that condition is complied with?" (285) Other currents of German speculation are referred to in the following exclamation: "Has not the undisguised materialism of evolutionary monism and the frank or concealed pantheism of transcendental idealism flattered German vanity by representing the German as a superior type of the human race and the supreme embodiment of the divine, to whom it behooves all nations to bow?" (285).

It would be contrary to the truth if we denied that such views have had their champions in Germany and that they have cropped out in life and literature. But that is nothing peculiar to Germany. Wherever modern civilization flourishes, the anti-Christian spirit asserts itself. In France, as all the world knows, it was not less rampant than elsewhere, especially since the so-called independent morality was introduced into the schools. The influence of German philosophy does not account for the prevalence of anti-Christian sentiment. The causes of infidelity and immorality in various countries are different and many. In this matter Germany has been both teacher and disciple. The revolt against Christian ethics is older than German philosophy; it dates back as far as the Italian Renaissance, where Nietzsche discovered the models for his master morality. Long before Hegel, the omnipotence of the state had an exponent in Hobbes, and the absolute right of the sovereign people an ardent advocate in Rousseau. The divorce of politics from ethics was

decreed by Machiavelli. The sensualistic philosophy of France abrogated all moral restrictions and declared in favor of unbridled license as early as the 18. century, at the time when the drift of German literature was towards a purer and nobler conception of life.

The assertion, therefore, that anti-Christian ethical theories have been promulgated in Germany, would not constitute a specific charge against this country. The peculiar character and the monstrosity of the charge lie in this, that immoralism is said to be the *final word* of German philosophy and the *universally accepted creed* of the German people. This contention, however, is not born out by the facts and must be vigorously and emphatically denied.

What is here made to figure as German philosophy is neither the *common* nor even the *prevailing* doctrine of German philosophers; it is an exceptional theory, which is *condemned* by all serious thinkers in Germany as sincerely as in other countries. It may have made itself unpleasantly conspicuous, but it has found but scant support among the abler representatives of German thought. The leaders of the ethical revolt are clamorous and insolent, but all honest men are aligned against them for the defense of traditional morality; no age has been so profoundly stirred by these problems as ours and none has seen the struggle between good and evil on such a gigantic scale. First of all, Catholic philosophers have staunchly and strenuously maintained the old foundation of Christian Ethics. This is of no slight consequence and should not be overlooked. For though Catholic philosophy occupies no large space in the modern presentations of the history of metaphysical speculation, since it displays no great variety of devergent systems, yet it is a living power among the people. Nor has non-Catholic philosophy become estranged from Christian ways of thinking to the extent the French critics would make us believe. With regard to the respective world views the contrast is very marked. In their attitude towards moral values they have much in common. Barring some few exceptions, all German philosophers acknowledge the absolute character of the traditional standards and imperatives of the moral order. Kant and Hegel cannot be reckoned among the exceptions. To place them on a level with Nietzsche bespeaks crass ignorance. There exists also fundamental agreement in regard to the nature of the ethical ideal. Whatever dissension there is, concerns the ultimate ends and motives of moral actions. The unanimity is complete in matters of social duty; the rules of social conduct upon which all agree are, in substance, identical with the old Christian virtues of justice and love. Hence Nietzsche taunts German philosophers and accuses them of halfheartedness, because they have rejected the Christian creed, but have not dared to tamper with Christian ethics.

And thus Nietzsche regarded his own transvaluation of all values and rebellion against Christian morality as a most daring and unheard of undertaking.

That such is the real condition of affairs we will now proceed to prove. We will first propose in outline the German philosophy of conduct and then give a succinct survey of the German conception of war.

1.) THE GERMAN PHILOSOPHY OF CONDUCT.

I. Can it be said with any measure of truth, that German philosophy repudiates the notion of moral obligation, and that it emancipates the human ego from all responsibility to higher powers?

The general drift of German philosophy is to emphasize strongly the *importance of the individual.* Since Kant it has been frequently repeated that the dignity of human personality consists in this that it is its *own end* and its *own law.* This might be interpreted so as to be tantamount to a complete brushing aside of all moral restraint. Extreme individualists have actually adopted this extravagant construction of its meaning. But the great majority of philosophers attach a vastly different sense to these words.

If man is called his *own end,* this is not meant to exclude higher purposes to which he is subordinated. It is to be understood as a pregnant vindication of the sacredness of his inalienable rights to his own life and the fruits of his work, and as a vigorous injunction against any attempt to violate his personal dignity and to use him as a mere means. That this is the meaning intended, appears clearly from the expression Kant has given to the idea: "Now I say: man and generally any rational being exists as an end in himself, *not merely as a means* to be arbitrarily used by this or that will, but in all his actions, whether they concern himself or other rational beings must be regarded *at the same time as an end.*"[1] Not only are higher purposes not denied, but the existence of a world of loftier aims and values, to which man's life ought to be devoted and consecrated, is explicitly maintained. The dignity of the human person is derived from the fact that it towers above the phenomena of sense and that it belongs to a spiritual world of ethical ideals. Not the ego in itself deserves to be exalted, but only in as much, as it sets before us the dignity of our nature, and is the bearer of sublime destinies and the organ of the ideas of the true, the good and the beautiful.

It is obvious that all theistic philosophy goes beyond man and seeks his final end above him. But monism, at least idealistic monism,

[1] Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysic of Morals; Abbots translation, 46.

which plays such a conspicuous role in German speculation, thoroughly agrees with theism on this point. For though it deprives the infinite of the attributes of personal existence, it endows the impersonal absolute with a divine dignity. And even if the monist holds that man is the supreme embodiment of the divine, yet with a happy inconsistency, he subordinates the finite individual to the absolute and measures man's greatness by his manifestation of moral qualities. Even naturalistic monism, which is very much akin to materialism and which rejects the existence of a separate spiritual world, for all that, insists on an ethical interpretation of life and dares not efface the essential difference of right and wrong. Thus Haeckel in his "Enigmas of the World" speaks with a glow of moral enthusiasm of the trinity of the true, the good and the beautiful and of a cult of these "divine ideals."

Nor does *autonomy,* as understood in German philosophy, mean unrestricted license and freedom from all moral restrictions. If man is said to be autonomous, this does not make his own choice and pleasure the ultimate rule of his actions. Man remains subject to law and order, but he is destined to control his own actions and to act in conformity with his innermost nature. Only an external law, arbitrarily imposed, is repudiated, not the law within his own breast. Moreover, this law possesses an independent, objective validity and is not man's creation. Consequently, man is bound by duty. And his moral worth is to be gauged by his obedience to the call of duty. The genuine freedom of the spirit consists, not in license, but in the willing submission to the law of reason.

It is in this manner that Kant defines the idea of autonomy. Man is autonomous, he says, he is his own law, but the maxim of his will must be an expression of universal reason. The latter is the mouthpiece of a superior moral order, vested with an authority which man may not set at nought. Hence, Kant's insistence on duty and his reverence for the majesty of the law, which would be inexplicable if the moral imperatives were only dictates emanating from individual reason. Duty, in the Kantian moral system, holds a central place; Kant's rigorism goes so far that he will not dignify any subjective principle other than pure and unalloyed respect for the law, as a moral motive. In his puritanic enthusiasm, he scorns those actions that proceed from inclination or pleasurable and selfish motives. All which proves convincingly that Kant saw beyond and above the individual an objective, inviolate, moral order, independent of man's personal wishes and individual will. In their last metaphysical analysis Kant regarded the dictates of reason as identical with commands flowing from divine authority, which goes to show that Kant's ethics and Christian morality have many points of contact. We

may judge for ourselves from his own words. Thus he writes: "We are indeed legislative members of a moral kingdom rendered possible by freedom, and presented to us by reason as an object of respect; but yet we are subjects in it, not the sovereign, and to mistake our inferior position as creatures, and presumptuously to reject the authority of the moral law, is already to revolt from it in spirit, even though the letter of it be fulfilled."[2]

Fichte, in his ethical views, does not dissent materially from Kant. Even in his first period, when he exalted the ego to the vertiginous height of a creator of the world, he places above the ego the moral order. In the later stages of his philosophical development, reason becomes to him more and more the herald of a higher order. So we read: "The voice of conscience, which assigns to every one his particular duty, signalizes our birth from the infinite and constitutes us in our own individuality; it circumscribes our personality and, hence, is an essential part of our being."[3]

Hegel emphasizes the necessity of complying with the laws of divine reason. A being deserves to be called moral only when perfect harmony exists between the will and the universal law. "The true conscience is the disposition to do that what is good in itself."[4]

The idea that genuine liberty is not caprice, is so deeply rooted in German philosophy, that even in Nietzsche, who so vehemently proclaims the unrestricted freedom of natural impulses, it occasionally urges for utterance. "Thou must obey, he says, somebody and for a long time, otherwise thou shalt perish and lose all respect for thine own self—this to me seems the moral imperative of nature."[5] And Zarathustra asks those who would follow him, this question: "Canst thou become thine own standard of good and evil and raise thy will above thyself as a law?"[6]

Patently, then, the individualism and autonomy, upon which German speculation lays such great stress, have nothing to do with the abolishment of moral obligation or the negation of an objective ethical order. The problem that has vexed German thinkers is of a different nature; it concerns the *harmonious fusion of liberty and law;* the internal, willing acceptance of the outward commands of duty, so that they are no longer looked upon as a restraint imposed on us without our consent, but as the outgrowth of the fundamental exigencies of our rational nature, to which the will cheerfully submits. The point at issue is well put by K. Joël. "When and where, he queries, has the genius

2 Critical Examination of Practical Reason. Transl. by Abbot, 175.
3 Fichte, The Destination of Man. (Werke II, Berlin 1845, 299.)
4 Hegel, Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts, Werke VIII (Berlin 1833) 180.
5 Nietzsche, Beyond Good and Evil. Werke VII (Leipzig 1895) 118.
6 Nietzsche, Thus spake Zarathustra, Werke VI (Leipzig 1896) 92.

of popular philosophy ever so exalted man and touched in him the springs of loftiest ambition? . . . But this egoism of the German mind is, by an unpassable gulf, separated from that egotism, which seeks glory or pleasure or possession or dominion. This individualism merges the self in the absolute and recognizes no liberty which it not in accord with the universal order. . . . The German mystic extols man not as a self-willed person, but as the expression of a higher purpose and as the vessel of the divine."[7]

II. As the end of man's life, so are also his *relations to his fellow-men* subordinated to ethical ideas and regulated by laws. The lawless ethics, which is said to be distinctive of German philosophy, exists only as an isolated and exceptional phenomenon. Nietzsche and Max Stirner are its chief exponents. Outside of these solitary exceptions, the earnest endeavor to curb and overcome the egotistic instincts is everywhere evident. Even when self-interest is made the ultimate motive of human actions and the basis of morality, an enlightened self-interest is understood, which sees that the welfare of the individual is inseparable from that of the community and tries to bring about a proper adjustment of the selfish claims and the demands of society. Thus altruism is grafted on intelligent self-interest. The innate social impulses and the imperative demands of life are stronger than that anyone, but a mad man, could disregard them and make selfishness the supreme aim and the only rule of his actions. Hence, consistent egotism can never attain to universal vogue; it appears sporadically in philosophy and is essentially ephemeral.

The two principles, that govern the social relations of man, are those of *justice* and *love*.

The first requisite in social life is regard for *right*. German philosophy not only announces this postulate, but takes great pains to place it on a secure and sound metaphysical basis. It starts from the dignity of the human person; and now we begin to realize why it makes so much of the individual. The reverence for the personal dignity of my fellow-men requires that I also respect their rights; for a person is always an end in itself, also then when this ego is not my own, but that of another rational being. This is Kant's line of argument, which culminates in the practical imperative: "So act as to treat humanity, whether in thine own person or in that of any other, in every case as an end withal, never as means only."[8] Fichte deduces the inviolable nature of right from the same premises: "I can and may not be and become everything, because along with me exist other beings, who are also free."[9] The resultant

7 Neue Weltkultur, Leipzig 1915, 43 f.
8 Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysic of Morals, 47.
9 Das System der Sittenlehre, 226.

rule of conduct could thus be worded: So limit thy freedom that others may be free along with thee.

These principles are also applied to international relations. German philosophy, almost to a man, condemns the old adage, that the statesman is not bound by moral considerations, and that he may place the state above everything else. No one has more emphatically denounced this policy, which he calls "immoral prudence," than Kant. Stoutly, he maintains that statesmanship must be wedded to morality. The following passage leaves no doubt about his sentiments: "The rights of men must be safeguarded, whatever sacrifice it may involve. Temporizing in this matter would be intolerable; nor may we contrive a right dependent on expediency, but all statecraft must bend its knee before right."[10] And as Germany's representative philosophers have set their face against Machiavellian theories, so do its national economists frown on them. But they do not tire to insist on an ethical orientation of international relations and on a management of public affairs in conformity with the rules of justice and the dictates of conscience. The latest manual of international law states the case very clearly and pointedly: "The moral nature of man revolts against the principle, that a state in dealing with its neighbors may do whatever it has the power to do."[11]

Our French accusers cannot close their eyes to the fact that German philosophy clings to the idea of right. But though they admit the fact, they seek to rob it of its significance, since they contend that German speculation has perverted the concept of right and deprived it of all ethical import, and that for the German thinker the *right* to do a thing is synonymous with the *power* to do it.

We have confessed that this view has its supporters in Germany. But it is severely condemned by the vast majority of German thinkers. The idea of right is interpreted in ethical terms and disassociated from the concept of power or force. In Kant's and Hegel's philosophical systems, right appears as a moral notion.

It is true that *Kant* distinguishes between *legality* and *morality*. But this distinction refers only to the *motive;* it does not bear on the *matter* or *content* of the legal action. Morality, Kant argues, requires an internal disposition; legality only looks to the exact fulfillment of the prescribed duties and is satisfied with an outward obedience. In so far morality and legality belong to different spheres. This, however, does nowise imply that moral precepts and legal regulations may not be concerned with the same subjectmatter, or that there must be any opposition between them. Both, according to Kant, are an expression of the same

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10 Zum ewigen Frieden, Reclam. 49.
11 Stier-Somlo, Handbuch des Völkerrechts I, 21, Berlin, 1912.

practical reason and both serve the same purpose, that of protecting the liberty of the individual. The keystone of Kant's theory of right is the idea of *justice.* When he speaks of the latter, his diction becomes animated and exhibits an unusual warmth of sentiment. Unhesitatingly he endorses the time-honored axiom: *Fiat justitia, pereat mundus;* and gives it a new version: May justice prevail, though all knaves in the world should perish. In another passage, he enthusiastically exclaims: "If justice is banished from the earth, human existence loses all value."

And though Kant places the essence of right in its *compulsory* nature, this must not be taken to mean that he reduces it to a mere matter of physical force. The juridical order, he reasons, must be able to exact and compel the carrying out of its demands. What cannot thus be enforced and extorted from the refractory, may not in the strict and proper sense be called a right. The contrary proposition, however, that whatever can be enforced is right and just, does not hold good and finds no justification in Kant's theory of jurisprudence. Justice, under all circumstances, remains the sole criterion of right.

A similar misunderstanding prevails with regard to *Hegel's* theory of accomplished facts. The Catholic University of Paris wrongly interprets his ideas, when it makes him say that *fact* is synonymous with *right,* and that all successful historical events are justifiable. Of course, the authors are thinking of Hegel's fundamental tenet, that regards the evolution of the world as a necessary dialectical process in which the divine reason gradually unfolds itself. From this point of view it is eminently true, that whatever is real is rational. By this admission, however, Hegel does not commit himself to the doctrine that what happens in the course of historical development is good and just *in itself.* Hegel claims nothing more than that evil is indispensable in the process of world evolution, that it exercises the function of a ferment by arousing the reaction of the good and thus contributes towards progress. This view is utterly wrong and extremely dangerous; but be that as it may, we fail to see in it a charter for the apotheosis of force or a sanction for policies of violence. The difference between right and wrong is not blotted out; evil is a stage of being which must be surmounted; and it is Hegel's cherished conviction, that evil shall be baffled, and that the good will triumph.

We are far from denying that Hegel's doctrine concerning the *state* is not fraught with dangerous consequences. Thus, when he attributes to the state the authority to demand *unconditional obedience,* he opens the door for countless abuses; but he does not remove the landmarks of right and wrong. For he claims this right for the state on the erroneous supposition, that it is the concrete expression of supreme justice: "The

state is the actuality of the ethical idea."[12] Looked at from this angle of vision, obedience to the state appears as submission to the divine reason itself, which assumes visible form in civil authority. No doubt this view represents a grotesque exaggeration of the importance of the state; but it also brings out very clearly, that Hegel does not canonize mere might, when he endows the state with such a fulness of powers and privileges.

Justice must be tempered and supplemented by *charity, benevolence* and *helpfulness.* German ethicians give strong relief and considerable prominence to these virtues. The consent of opinion in this particular extends so far that even materialism, totally devoid of ethical inspiration and thoroughly antagonistic to Christianity, applauds the Christian law of love. "With reference to this most essential and highest precept, says Haeckel, there is full agreement between our monistic ethics and Christianity." By none of his other teachings did Nietzsche excite such vehement opposition, as when he decried Christian charity and substituted for it his law of ruthlessness. Yet, he himself would not dare to draw the practical consequences of his theory. He gloats over the picture of imaginary cruelty and savors it with a strange relish; but he pauses and recoils when there is question of carrying these ideas into practice. "It is very easy to talk of all kinds of immorality, he once remarked, but who could stand them. I for my part could not bear a breach of faith, let alone more wicked crimes, such as murder."

Social service ranks high in the estimate of German philosophy. It is often regarded as the *highest* purpose to which man may consecrate his life. In fact there is a tendency to overrate the work done for the common weal. This tendency Eucken sought to correct by pointing out, that there are values superior to the common welfare of mankind, and that even altruism may be carried too far. ("Geistige Strömungen der Gegenwart.")

The same altruistic ideal is held up as a rule of conduct to states and nations.

The leading German philosophers do not encourage national pride or contempt for foreign nations; they have always endeavored to foster an intelligent *respect* and an enlightened *consideration* for the national peculiarities and traits of others. No one has ever extolled the German people as Fichte in his "Addresses to the German nation;" still he declares, that *every* nation reflects in its own way the image of God, and that the ravishing of national integrity is a crime against the "highest law of the spiritual world." This respect for everything foreign has been associated with German speculation to this very day. In

[12] Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts, 312.

harmony with this tradition the great German educators have frequently raised their voice against any overstraining of the national sentiment. To illustrate this assertion, we give quotations from two popular and much read authors. In his well known manual of ethics, which has run through many editions, Paulsen writes: "A nation must have a consciousness of its own worth; without this it could not live. But this should be a calm and placid selfconsciousness, which gratefully cherishes its own, but at the same time appreciates and respects what belongs to others."[13] Speaking of nations, that have been merged in a larger political organism, F. W. Foerster, Germany's foremost educator, remarks: "The guiding principle in treating conquered territory should be: place yourself in the mental state of the subdued nation and soothe the painful depression of its national consciousness by a special regard for its cultural attainments and by a chivalrous consideration for its historical traditions and for its national sensitiveness."[14] That less noble sentiments have also been voiced in German literature we do not wish to deny; but such ungenerous utterances have not come from eminent and influential thinkers.

The ideal, to which Germany aspires, is not the subjugation and oppression of other nations, but *peaceful coöperation* with them and mutual assistance. In the classical period of German philosophy, the utopian scheme of an union of all mankind for the more effective realization of the highest aims of civilization recurs quite frequently. This union was conceived not in the form of a world empire, but rather as a free federation of independent nations. The end in view was an exchange of the various national achievements and the diffusion of civilization; the idea of imperialistic expansion did not at all enter into this attractive, but fanciful, plan, which was very dear to Kant, Fichte, Krause and Schleiermacher. Even in these deplorable times, when the war has brought race hatred to a boiling point, the ideal of a common civilization has not been totally eclipsed. In a book on the war we come across this lofty and conciliatory passage: "Any other condition than unity of the nations falls short of the Christian ideal. We must endeavor to bring about and to cement strongly this harmony of the future united states of Europe. This is a task worthy of our national traditions."[15]

2. THE GERMAN CONCEPTION OF WAR.

The predominant tenor of the German philosophy of conduct, as it appears from the above analysis, leads us to expect that the German

13 System der Ethik II7, 197 (Stuttgart 1906).
14 Staatsbürgerliche Erziehung2, 89, Leipzig, 1914.
15 F. W. Foerster, Die deutsche Jugend und der Weltkrieg, 37, Cassel 1915.

conception of war is not so utterly at variance with the spirit of Christianity, as the French indictment would make it out. Nor are we disappointed in our anticipations.

I. German philosophy, not infrequently, extols war and describes its beneficent effects. This, however, not because it is regarded as a means of territorial aggrandizement and imperialistic expansion, but because it is looked upon as a condition of human progress and as a factor in the development of civilization. Political and purely national view points do not figure in this consideration; its outlook is broadly human and universal. Kant, for instance, praises war on the general plea, that it calls into play the competitive forces of mankind and thus draws out all its available resources. "We must be grateful to nature, he writes, for the quarrelsomeness, the spirit of emulation and rivalry, the greed of possession and the lust of dominion, which she has planted in the human heart; without them many of man's finest faculties would forever be dormant. Man desires concord and rest; but nature, knowing better what is expedient for the race, will have conflict." ("Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte"). Hegel, in his philosophy of right, describes war as a moral necessity. Without this powerful spur mankind would fall into stagnation and gradual degeneration. The inevitable destruction that attends war, teaches men to appraise things at their real value. It is a wholesome lesson for mankind to experience on a large scale the fickleness of the things of this sublunary world, and to realize in a concrete and practical fashion that there are values to which everything else must be sacrificed. Ed. v. Hartmann speaks in the same strain. As a student of social evolution he comes to the conclusion that war is inevitable, because it is a particular instance of the universal law of the struggle for existence applied to the human race. The strain and stress incident to war has proved to be an important factor in the education of mankind and in the advance of civilization and will probably remain so for the future.[16] Nor is Nietzsche thinking of political greatness or an increase of national power when he calls war the father of all good things. In his view, war is the means, to arouse mankind from the enervating enjoyment of the increasing comforts of material civilization, and to save it from the dangers lurking in the ease and luxury, which technical progress has made so common.

These eulogies on the happy effects of war, do not make their authors blink the fact that in itself it is a terrible evil, that should have no place in a civilized world, and that owes its being only to the passions and the malice of man. They, therefore, turn their eyes towards the future, which they hope will usher in a reign of universal peace. Kant

[16] Ed. v. Hartmann, Das sittliche Bewusstsein², 534.

and many of his followers have tried to hasten the advent of that blessed era by various proposals and schemes of an alliance or a confederacy of the nations, in which arbitration would decide the issues which are at present settled by the sword.

II. When it treats of the ethics of war, German speculation examines in particular the question of its *lawfulness*. In vain do we look for any utterance which could be construed to sanction a war of conquest or aggression. German philosophers countenance predatory warfare as little as St. Augustine and St. Thomas, whose teachings Dr. Gaudeau opposes to those of the former. They all subscribe to the same fundamental proposition, that war may be resorted to only as a last appeal and from a grave and just cause. Hence, practically speaking, only the war of defense and self-protection, in its larger acceptation, may be said to be lawful and just. Though some are inclined to regard the need of territorial expansion, where this is required by the growing population as an indispensable condition of existence, as a sufficient and legitimate motive of war, all denounce the war undertaken for the sake of an extension of dominion or of an imperialistic increase of power.

That the attitude of Catholic philosophy in this matter is correct, needs no further proof, since the manuals of moral philosophy, edited by German Catholic authors, notably that of Cathrein ("Moralphilosophie"), are used everywhere in the world. Of non-Catholic ethicians none has more strongly disapproved of predatory aggression than the much slandered Kant, who considers war lawful only when the existence of the state is menaced. Similar views are held by Fichte ("Grundlage des Naturrechts"). He warns his people against the illusion of imperialism and the seductions of world empire. ("Address to the German Nation"). Concerning the present, an eminent authority on international law makes the statement, that writers do not agree as to what would exactly constitute a just cause of war. "But, he continues, an improvement in this matter is evident; the moral aspects of war are insisted on with greater energy, and the conscience of nations condemns wanton attacks on weaker states, and quarrels picked with a view to national aggrandizement. Not every violation of right is deemed sufficient to justify a declaration of armed hostility, but only such an offense which bears a proportion to the enormous losses involved in a conflict of arms."[17]

III. Another charge, equally unfounded as the preceding ones, is that German philosophy legitimates in war all measures and policies which promise success, and that it teaches that in the *conduct of the war* all moral considerations may be set aside. The contrary, however, is true. German authors on the ethics of warfare demand that enmities be carried

17 Holtzendorff, Enzyklopädie der Rechtswissenschaft 5, (Leipzig 1890) 1327.

on in a *fair* and *humane* manner. On this point Catholic and non-Catholic writers are in perfect harmony. It is not easy, however, to determine in detail, how far the right of self-defense in actual combat extends; or which concrete measures may be considered the more humane; or when the impulses of humanity must be checked, if consideration for the enemy is not to become cruelty against one's own troops. In these concrete matters there is and always will be great divergence of opinion. In this connection principles may have been initiated which, at first blush, seem harsh, yet are no harder than the dire necessities of war require; suggestions which exceed the right measure may have been made, especially where judgment was unbalanced by the overwhelming sight of the horrors of war. Such likely blunders in the concrete application of a general principle, do not affect the essential fact that German philosophy has always championed the cause of justice and humanity.

We quote some characteristic passages, which indicate the drift of German thought. Kant lays down this rule: "Warring states may not have recourse to such means which would impair mutual confidence in the ensuing peace, as the hire of assassins and poisoners, breach of surrender and incitement to treason." ("Zum ewigen Frieden".) Hegel's standards for the moral conduct of war are not less exacting; he demands that the existing regulations of international law and the customs of Christian warfare be observed, and that non-combatants be spared. The manuals of international law declare its regulations to be binding on the warring parties. And when the Catholic University of Paris points out that the state of war does not justify the infliction of injury of whatever nature on the enemy, we find that German philosophy is equally explicit and positive in its condemnation of wanton destruction. Thus Holtzendorff writes: "The chief aim of the art of war is decisive defeat of the enemy with a minimum of loss and injury, also on the part of the adversary."[18]

* * *

Our brief sketch has not pursued the purpose of exonerating the German people in its ideas and aspirations from all blame. We have not hesitated to confess that in theory and practice it did not always come up to the Christian ideal. All we wished to prove is that the representative philosophers of Germany have not repudiated the moral law. This could only be established by pertinent quotations from eminent authors. From these it appears how far the French accusation misses the mark. We are sorely deceived if the evidence submitted does not warrant the conclu-

[18] Holtzendorff, l. c. 1330.

sion, that the German people does not acclaim that horrible doctrine which denies right and duty; that the main forces of its literature make for justice and uprightness; and that its philosophy gives evidence of a strong ethical inspiration and of a vigorous moral enthusiasm. It is impossible that the lofty, moral tone of its philosophers should not have had an elevating effect on the mind of the German people; for a nation shapes its ideals of life and conduct after the ideas of its great thinkers.

7. The Lie in the World War.

By Dr. Alois *Meister*, Professor at the University of Münster.

THE book "La Guerre Allemande et le Catholicisme," as a whole, is a gross misrepresentation of the truth. Unfortunately, truth is not merely distorted in an objective sense, but the authors must also be reproached with having infused subjective falsehoods into their accusations. This is proved by the illustration on page 3 of the "Documents photographiques." The upper picture shows the City Hall in Louvain and to the right St. Peter's church "before the war." The lower picture shows the City Hall and to the right a heap of ruins with the superscription: "What the Germans did to St. Peter's church." This is downright deception, for after a closer comparison it will be seen, that the lower picture presents an entirely different view of the City Hall and, consequently, that which lies to the right in the upper picture (St. Peter's church) could not possibly be to the right in the lower picture also. In reality this heap of ruins is not St. Peter's Church at all, for it lies to the left and is not visible in the illustration. All of it, with the exception of the roof which was damaged by the flames that leaped over from a neighboring building, has been saved to this day.

Probably never before has lying played such a part in the world's history as, during this war, on the part of our enemies. The counter question, whether falsehoods were not spread by us also, may be answered thus: In the first excitement, at the beginning of the war, a certain credulity with regard to anything terrible caused some of our papers to print a number of false reports. We recall the tales of the sabotage of an innkeeper at Kochem, the reports that autos laden with money for Russia were passing through Germany, the story of the martyrdom of the hotelkeeper Weber in Antwerp and the numerous cases in which Germans were reported to have had their eyes put out by Belgians, the calumnies spread against the Belgian clergy and a certain generalization of the misdeeds perpetrated by franctireurs. In the excitement of those days such exaggerations and tales of cruelty were not duly investigated and were spread among us, too, with some tenacity, but they soon vanished when cool reflection began to reassert itself.

But these falsehoods which can be easily explained by the nervous excitement into which the public was thrown dwindle into nothing when compared with the flood of lies with which England, France and Russia have inundated the world. In each of these nations the art of lying, besides certain features common to all, has developed a peculiar *national* stamp. The prize in this repulsive competition must be awarded to England who with a coldly calculated and well-planned system has enmeshed the entire world in her net of calumny and deception. Russia endeavors to impress the public by massive bluntness. Altogether different are the misrepresentations of France which we will subject to a somewhat closer scrutiny.

To be perfectly impartial, we shall endeavor to understand how it is *possible* that in France such general deviation from the truth took place. We must acknowledge, that their military losses, and the consciousness that much valuable territory is held by the enemy and despite the most sanguinary sacrifices cannot be regained, has produced a mental condition which easily presupposes cruelty and villainy in the opponent. Besides, there is the threatening economic and financial ruin, the confusion and uncertainty in the political parties, the decline of religion and the lack of confidence in God among the men and particularly in political circles, the decrease in the birth rate, all this tends to let the present and the near future of France appear so gloomy, that the psychical life of the nation must have reached a stage of high tension and sensitiveness. The former "grande nation" faces the possibility of an unfavorable ending of the war and with that a great loss in political importance. With a feeling of bitter disappointment the French see their long cherished dream of regaining Alsace-Loraine vanish. The dawning realization that the result of the war will be a great collapse, must be very distressing to a people whose strongest national trait is extreme vanity. The soul of France is in a state of highest excitability, of distressing uncertainty and despair. This furnishes an explanation why palpable lies have been so widely spread and accepted in France.

Besides there is the fact that the Frenchman is naturally a great optimist. He was firm in the belief that this time his armies would march into Berlin, and even now there are Frenchmen who believe this to be possible. Therefore everything that is favorable to them and reflects glory on their politics and warfare, but degrades the opponent, is eagerly accepted as true. Thus it becomes a very simple matter to make them see successes and victories where there are none, to convince them of the sublime and heroic qualities of their own people, and to represent the enemy as inferior and despicable, as the monstrous product of cruelty and barbarism. They believe everything of this kind the

papers may contain, no matter how clumsy and unlikely. This is excellent soil for enterprising newspaper speculators. Sane people who formerly had a wholly different opinion of the Germans, under the spell of this constant inoculation, wonder at their former unbiasedness. Their common sense is dulled and thoughtless credulity takes its place; that is the very mental condition which makes it impossible to discern falsehoods from truth, and the poison of deception impregnates the entire system, making it possible that an otherwise inconceivable confusion of ideas and a total lack of judgment takes possession of the mind. How often have we asked, in facing the innumerable accusations and calumnies: Is it possible that a sensible person can believe anything so ridiculous?

But they actually do believe! This is proved by the remarks of the prisoners, who are greatly surprised that we do not torture them, that the Russian armies are not camping behind Metz, that the Rhinelands have not been devastated, that Cologne and the great cathedral are still in existence, that we are not starving, but that in city and country everything goes on according to the old routine.

In order to explain this extreme credulity, regarding all unfavorable reports concerning Germany, we must pry even deeper; then we shall find the actual source of this surprising "capacity to believe" of the French. That is the general *ignorance* in France concerning Germany and its people. We are strangers to the French, and particularly to the French Colonial troops, and the case is the same with the English. These uneducated, and partly half-barbarous people, are easily led to believe anything, possible and impossible. So they have been told, the spires of Lille are those of Cologne, the Argonnes are the Black Forest! Extremely few Frenchmen are personally acquainted with Germany and its inhabitants' mode of living; thus the vast majority have a completely false idea of the German character and German nature. They are systematically imbued with this false impression, through the school and the press. It is of interest to the French Government that her people should see us in this light, therefore it represents us as the embodiment of cruelty. It is also impossible that the French should learn to know us through our own wonderful literature, as they are unable to read it. To a hundred Germans who master the French language, there is perhaps one Frenchman who is fairly well acquainted with the rudiments of the German.

To this false conception of Germany, which readily admits all falsehoods, is added the completely *onesided* way in which they are *informed* about the happenings of the war. It is known that in the first days of August, 1914, England cut the German cable, thus destroying the possibility of promptly and energetically defending ourselves against false

reports.[1] Simultaneously with the cutting of the cable England began her calumniations; she started throughout the foreign press, now restricted to the exclusive use of the English cable, a veritable campaign of calumny which revealed to the world the unsuspected vileness of the English character. Day after day, from the English cables, the poisonous vapors rose, and still rise, with which the unscrupulous calumniators of the Reuter Bureau defile the German name. Here the world lie was organized and sent broadcast to all parts of the globe for the express purpose of dragging German honor through the mire.

Besides this, English money succeeded in establishing numerous independent lie factories on a smaller scale, papers that work for English interests. Long beforehand England had carefully prepared this campaign by means of cable and press, while on our part no one thought of this side of the war, so that the relations of Germany to the foreign press, at the beginning of the war, were practically nil. For many years public opinion, all the world over, has been roused against Germany and nearly every state of some importance had at least one paper which was directed from England. It is a well known fact in Paris, that the "Matin" contains but a rehash of the English press and is controlled by English money; and it is just this paper which is chiefly responsible for the disastrous perversion of public opinion in France.

Germany was unable to protect herself effectively against such poisoning of the wells by means of cable and press. Only the land-cables to the North and South were available; to America a wireless message was sent once a week or every fortnight, often very much mutilated. Not until a year later, during summer of 1915, wireless communication between Germany and America made some progress through technical improvements. But by the time corrections *by mail* could cross the ocean, it was usually too late to remedy the poisonous effects of false cable reports. It is quite impossible for us to remove this advantage and preponderance of our opponents in spreading reports during the present war; therefore let the nations remember that they are under a *one-sided influence* and that in the vast majority of reports they have been *misinformed.*

The lies which have been spread about Germany in the present war are of various types. In France the press speculates on the people's *love for sensation,* their credulity and fancifulness. Thus, the public is fed with gruesome tales that make the German army appear like a horde of African or Asiatic barbarians. The purpose of this procedure is to conceal the fact that the cruel, inhuman barbarians actually are

[1] Further particulars in A. Meister, Kabelkrieg und Lügenfeldzug (Münster i. W., Borgmeyer & Co. 1914).

in the French and English ranks, and that Germany, on the contrary, may be justly proud of the discipline of her troops. Thus rumors are taken up without criticism; severities that come with every war are exaggerated and depicted in the most vivid colors, necessary precautions are interpreted as intentional hardness, rare instances are misrepresented as daily occurrences; for, the one aim is to satisfy the public craze for sensation and simultaneously to degrade the moral character of the hated opponent.

The precautions our army leaders were compelled to take against outbursts of racial passions and malicious treachery of the enemy, furnished the ground upon which these monstrous lies were based.

In the first place, those reports must be exposed which are absolute inventions and therefore must be branded as *intentional calumnies.* The low mind of their fabricators does not recoil from attacking even those things which are most sacred and dear to us. Malicious deeds are invented with cool deliberation to strike us to the core and to defile whatever brought honor and recognition upon Germany. The real source of these odious falsifications is England. It was there that the most unfounded and most shameful inventions originated, and by means of her press and cable monopoly she dispatched them to all parts of the world. Anglo-American papers were willing tools and in many cases outdid the vileness of the English press. The French papers, too, degraded themselves by such absolutely fictitious reports. We recall the shameless lie about the supposed plundering of the castle of the Baroness of Baye at Champaubert by the German Crown Prince, which was reported by the "Temps" during the latter part of September, and which even after having been denied by Count Bülow, German Ambassador in Rome, was repeated on October 7th. German official reports established the fact that the Crown Prince has never been in Baye castle.

It may be noticed in passing that the German Crown Prince, next to our Emperor, has been the most favorite target for the darts of the calumniators. The "California Demokrat," a German paper in San Francisco, some time ago published a collection of the calumnies which the press of the Allies spread about the Crown Prince. A few examples for illustration: Twice (August 5th and 20th, 1914), an assault on his life was made; August 24th, 1914, because of increasing popularity, he was banished to the eastern front for the rest of the war; September 4th, he committed suicide because, at his command, his men had fired upon their own troops; November 6th, he became insane and is held under guard in a lonely castle; March 3d, 1915, he is disgracefully released of his command and withdraws to a family estate.

Our officers must bear the vilest of suspicions and accusations. It

is provoking and disgusting to read all the base calumnies hurled against our brave and good-natured soldiers.

A third class of falsifications embraces *fictitious military reports.* They are found with all our opponents; they are intended to cover their own losses and at the same time support the hope of the nation with regard to a successful outcome of the war, and favorably to influence the courage of the troops. If these false telegrams of victories and military communiqués would remain within certain bounds we would not blame our enemies. It merely amuses us to read that the Russians have victoriously retreated; that in the battles in the Argonnes and in the Champagne the French advanced daily and yet did not move from the spot; that the English press sultans, because of asserting that the English held Hill 60, were rebuked in the House of Commons after the arrival of General French's belated report; that Cadorna's proposed "walk to Triest" was delayed on account of "bad weather." Our opponents are in need of this self-deception. A clever make-up of the daily report, in consideration of the sentiments of the people, may be justified, as long as the coloring is limited to careful wording and withholding of detrimental occurrences. The military and political situation may at times advise not to tell the whole truth; but pretermitting part of the truth in such manner as to falsify truth is in all cases objectionable. The reports of our enemies, however, far exceeded these tolerable bounds and resorted to the most dishonorable means of *official calumny.* Official bureaus supporting themselves on the crutches of lies are self-condemned. French captives have told of official information to the effect that the Germans kill their wounded. This sad fame of having accomplished the almost inconceivable in calumniations, has also aroused the Russian commanders; we have Russian orders of the day that betoken astounding degradation.

More recently, our opponents, chiefly the French, have adopted what we might call a "refined" form of lying, and the book "La Guerre Allemande et le Catholicisme," in part at least, belongs to this class. We mean the literary lie, which by means of clever construction, dazzling style, and the seductive charms of French diction makes a deep impression. Particularly the neutral nations prefer this style of description to the more blunt, straight-from-the-shoulder style of the Germans. The method of this literary deception consists in gathering and selecting a number of notices and grouping them in such manner as to achieve the desired effect,—to influence the judgment of the readers in their favor without being obtrusive. Parts of letters and diaries and pamphlets, torn from the original contents and omitting all passages that might prove the contrary, gradually lead the reader into such a mood that he

is persuaded, unconsciously overlooking the faulty evidences of the argument. Here the untruthfulness is hidden under the disguise of objectivity and in the unwarrantable generalization of instances that by themselves do not prove anything.[2]

According to this style the little yellow booklets, "Pages d'histoire 1914 à 1915," of the Librairie militaire Berger-Levrault, are constructed, and even more dangerous are the volumes of the "Études et documents sur la guerre" (Paris, Armand Colin), pretending scientific exactitude and edited by men of distinction. It is a deception of the readers, if Dürkheim and Dénis, editors of the book "Qui a voulu la guerre," claim to be impartial. We might almost maintain that perfect impartiality and objectivity is, at this time, psychologically impossible—and particularly so for a Frenchman. And science would have demanded of the authors to be aware of the difficulties which impede a clear perception of contemporary events. Close investigation proves that they are under a strong war-psychosis, that their faculty of judgment is greatly impaired, and their representation distinctly one-sided.

This also applies to Baudrillart's book "La Guerre Allemande et le Catholicisme." It is brimful of misrepresentations so that the editors must be denied any claim of being able to judge right and wrong in this war with an objective mind. Their statements betray such prejudice and partiality, that the picture they draw becomes a caricature. The reader is sadly misguided, when in the preface the author quotes Cardinal Amette as saying that the facts here represented deserve perfect credence.

Another book, typical of this style of propaganda publications, is "Les Crimes allemands d'après les témoignages allemands," by Bédier (Paris, Armand Colin), upon which "La Guerre allemande" bases many of its charges. It already has been refuted from three different sides, by the Dane Larsen[3] and the Germans Kuttner[4] and Grimme,[5] for which reason we need not treat it in detail. It has been proved that M. Bédier repeatedly misread, that he misconstrued the meaning of German words and phrases, and that he gave a malicious interpretation of the fragmentary extracts from German diaries. Faulty translation, distortion of words and sentences, above all his concealment of the fact that the mutilated diary extracts presented by him, almost without exception, refer to incidents of the franctireur war, clearly expose the preju-

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2 Here we might insert the conclusions drawn from a few remarks made by Treitschke, Bernhardi and Nietzsche and which are repeatedly brought before the public in new and varied forms.

3 Karl Larsen, Professor Bédier und die Tagebücher deutscher Soldaten, aus dem Dänischen von Alf. Fedor Cohn (Berlin, G. Reimer 1915).

4 Max Kuttner, Deutsche Verbrechen? Wider J. Bedier, Les crimes etc. Zugleich eine Antwort aus französischen Dokumenten (Bielefeld und Leipzig 1915).

5 Hubert Grimme, Ein böswilliger Sprachstümper über "deutsche Kriegsgreuel" (Münster 1915). Also translated into the French: Grimme, Sommes-nous des criminels? (Münster 1915).

dice and unscientific methods of the author. Bédier's[6] answer to an article of A. Hollmann in the "Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung" of March 1, 1915, is no better than his first publication; he evidently cannot grasp the actual meaning of the diary extracts copied by him,—unless we are to assume something worse. Among them are notes, of which it is difficult to believe that only error and misunderstanding on his part caused them to be inserted. Bédier has shown, that he is not a seeker of the truth; his is pseudo-science, directed by preconceived notions, for which, with the eagerness of the amateur, he gathers evidences from every possible corner; and thus with doubtful means lays the mines of untruthfulness against the great truths of the war.

It is part and parcel of this method to stamp a casual remark as a declaration of principles and to represent an unimportant personage as important, and typical of German thought. Just think: Bishop Bernhard von Galen, who occupied the episcopal see of Münster from 1650-1678, in the "Extraits du Bulletin des Armées" under the heading "Un précurseur" III 14 ff, is depicted as a crowned brigand, who performs all the atrocities of a cruel warfare; and then it is said of him that his life history furnishes all the colors in the picture of William II and his warfare, that his barbarism is typically German. *C'est la même âme, ce sont les mêmes maximes, et c'est aussi le même délire, le même mysticisme sanglant.* And these empty sophisms are not the product of some irresponsible journalist, but of the celebrated member of the French Academy, Marquis de Ségur!

The lies of Veuillot, as though the Germans were warring on the church and the clergy (81 ff), will be refuted in another part of this book. But one malicious calumny we cannot leave unmentioned, because it has redounded to the confusion of its authors.

When the French invaded Upper Alsace, they spread the news that the Germans had demolished the Trappist monastery of Oelenberg, and the Catholic missionary press of France triumphantly carried this bit of information about the barbarian Germans as far as China. In reality it is a lie; the Trappist monastery did not suffer at the hands of the Germans and remained intact for months. Then, in June, 1915, the French came and without any military necessity accomplished the work of destruction, for which they had previously blamed us.

We regret this for the sake of the monastery, but we do not intend, because churches and convents in Belgium and Northern France have been shot to pieces by the English and French, to commit the mistake of our adversaries and raise pharisaical accusations like Veuillot.

Such books, as that of Alfred Baudrillart and his co-laborers, lead

[6] Comment l'Allemagne essaye de justifier ses crimes (Paris, Armand Colin 1915).

us to believe that many Frenchmen are no longer capable of discerning the truth. Their mental condition is perturbed. The other belligerent nations do not fare better on account of the influence which the leaders of their foreign policy exercise on public opinion. The more *dishonest* the *leading politicians* of a state are, the more abundant the output of falsehoods. It is known that German politicians, by their straightforward and honest course, which has often been offensive to others, differ greatly from the cunning smoothness displayed in the diplomacy of our adversaries. The French and English are said to be honest at home, but in politics they maintain that everything is permissable. Bismarck, who often enough experienced this, considered the deceitfulness of the English greater than that of the French[7], and probably he was right.

At any rate, in adjudging the role of falsehood in this world war, we must consider the large share for which the *leading statesmen* are responsible. They are the poisoners. With them originated what in German is aptly called "Massensuggestion." They gave out the slogan, which embodies the very antithesis of truth, that Germany *wanted* this war. For years they had drawn a more and more tightening ring around Germany; since their mutual agreement regarding the Morocco question they provoked Germany with increasing frequency. And because Germany would not await her doom passively and, instead, prepared for coming events, they now outrage truth and point to all defensive measures of Germany and Austria before the war, and all preparations for protection against unwelcome attacks, as so many proofs of their intent of aggression. The responsible representatives of the Entente governments dared to circulate this lie, the biggest lie in their great lying campaign. They did so, conscious of the fact that the alliance in whose behalf they spoke was and is an aggressive alliance, in which French politicians of the type of Delcassé allied their desire of revenge with the Russian policy of conquest aiming at Constantinople, and English envy and fear of competition, for the suppression and destruction of the Central Powers. That the alliance between Germany and Austria-Hungary was defensive, is well known; the aggressive tendency lay on the opposite side. Only madness could have induced Germany and Austria to court war; but many are inclined to disregard this simple fact and take that madness for granted. The international press conspiracy has long since undermined and misdirected public opinion and clouded the clear judgment. By means of a clever management of the press the Entente Powers so prepared public sentiment, that their own object remained concealed, and at the same time degraded the opponent, so that he is held capable of any

7 "Tischgespräche" in der "Neuen Freien Presse" 1897. See Meister, Bismarcks auswärtige Politik seit 1871 und der Weltkrieg (Münster i. W., Borgmeyer & Co. 1915) 30, 31.

lawlessness and villainy that they choose to lay at his door. Thus b falsification and distortion of the facts, which may be traced to offici sources and the leading politicians, the world lie of Germany's guilt orig inated. The leading statesmen of France and England made in numer ous cases, publicly and knowingly, untrue statements. This is the sombe truth.

It may be taken for granted that the French Yellow Book is th most unreliable of all official documents anent the outbreak of the war thorough personal investigations and comparisons have convinced me o this; for the rest we refer to the brochure "Randglossen zum französische Gelbbuch" (Berlin, Concordia deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1915). T this day the French Government exercises the strongest pressure on th public opinion of the nation by an extremely strict censorship. Recentl a severe order was issued prohibiting the importation of literary produc tions from Germany. They evidently fear the truth. We, who nee not fear the truth, do not object to the circulation of foreign war-literatur and periodicals. Our great newspapers unhesitatingly publish the ful official war reports of the enemy; the provincial papers publish ther at least in condensed form. This goes to prove our good conscience, an that we are above the lying reports of the enemy; and it proves als that we can depend on the truthfulness of our own official reports, whic is admitted by the English, even by the "Daily Mail."[8] To be sure the wire-pullers in the chairs of the French ministry are aware that thei power will vanish, when the deceived French nation awakens to the truth But it is doubtful whether France is at all capable of bearing the truth Unfortunate the nation that cannot bear the truth!

In England criticism of the false reports has already begun, and i Russia and France the web of lies, sooner or later, will also be torn b the logic of facts. But then it may be too late to make good. Whe truth, at present so carefully concealed, becomes known, the people wi be ashamed of their political leaders who have so long made fools of them who have let them bleed for the interests and intrigues of England Then the hollow phrases of "German militarism threatening all Europe, of the atrocities of "the Huns and barbarians," which are unhesitatingl repeated by an incendiary press, will be shown in their true light.

The brave soldiers of our enemies who must fight in the trenche with our good men, have already looked through many a bold deceptio published in their reports and newspapers. They know our condition better than their government will have the people believe.[9]

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8 "Köln. Volkszeitung" 1915, No. 392.

9 A French chasseur who was captured in Embermenil, in a clever poem ridicules th deceitfulness of the French press; (see "Münchener Neueste Nachr." No. 545, 1915). We giv a few verses of this in the appendix but refrain from forming any general conclusions. Apa from the author's nationality it is a good satire on the whole journalistic lying-campaign.

And likewise the prisoners know that they have been deceived, and that Germany presents a different picture than they were made to believe. We may hope that when peace is restored and they return to their native land they will do justice to the truth and inform their people of the deluge of falsehoods with which they have been flooded. However, it would be presumptuous to depend on this, as particularly among the French prisoners there are many who, through years of habit, have become accustomed to seeing all things German in a certain light and are unable to cast off this false impression; furthermore, the steady company of men of similar temper upholds the old illusion. Yet there is much that they recognize as different and in many things their ideas have changed.

To many lies, after all, the old proverb applies: "Lies are short-lived." The longer the war lasts, the more the world recognizes that it has been greatly deceived regarding Germany and German warfare. Now already many distortions have been disproved by facts, and truth in the end will down the fog of untruthfulness along the whole line. In this war the lie, as a treacherous weapon, has been used with unanticipated virtuosity and variety, and undoubtedly can claim numerous successes. These successes in many a case were but of short duration, as the truth was recognized in time to avoid greater catastrophes. But in some cases falsehood attained its goal and inflicted serious wounds, particularly by the allurement of Italy. The misguided nation beyond the Alps probably has already awakened to the fact that the reality is vastly different from what it has been represented. Those who allow themselves to be misled by the lying press and the deceitfulness of their leaders, must bear the consequences. We will judge a politically immature and misguided people leniently, but susceptibility for the bottomless inventions and calumnies makes it an accomplice.

The stain of falsehood and calumny will stigmatize the nations who have availed themselves of this poisonous weapon. Their untruthfulness will be recorded in history.

Appendix.

C'est les journaux.

Air: Le Pendu.

Composée sur le front par Paul Pinson.

1. Faut pas croire que vous faites la guerre
Pour une misérable question
D'orgueil ou de changement d'frontière,
Encore moins affaire de pognon;
Non, si nous avons tous tant d'peine,
N'en doutez pas, mes chers amis:
C'est pour la liberté humaine:
C'est les journaux qui nous l'ont dit :/:

2. Depuis six mois on bouge pas d'place,
Chacun reste sur ses positions;
Quand on bouge, c'est comme la limace,
On court comme des colimaçons.
Les Boches sont sur not' territoire,
Ils tiennent un bon bout du pays;
Pourtant nous aurons la victoire:
C'est les journaux qui nous l'ont dit:/:

3. On sait que grâce à l'Angleterre
Les Austro-Boches ne r'çoivent plus rien,
Qu'ils n'ont plus d'pain, plus d'pommes de terre,
Et d'puis longtemps, qu'ils crèvent de faim.
C'est vrai qu'ils ont tous une bonne mine,
Gras comme des moines, ceux qu'on a pris,
Pourtant chez eux y a la famine:
C'est les journaux qui nous l'ont dit :/:

. . . . . .

9. Mais une chose sur laquelle ils s'taisent,
Qu'ils f'raient pas mal de raconter:
C'est qu'à la fin cette vie nous pèse
Et qu'on voudrait bien s'en aller
Qu'il faut cependant qu'on démarre,
Qu'il faut en finir à tout prix,
Qu'à la fin tout l'monde en a marre:
Ca les journaux ne l'ont pas dit.

That's What the Papers Say.

Air: The Hanged Man.

Written at the front by Paul Pinson

1. You must not think that we wage war
For trivial reasons such as these:
For pride or greed of sparkling cash
Or to extend our boundaries.
Oh no, if we all take such pains,
We do not do so just for play:
We fight for human liberty,
At least that's what the papers say

2. Six months we have not moved an inch,
No, every one sticks to his place,
Or, if we move, we move like snails
Who take their time in every race.
The "boches," of course, are in our land
And hold it faster every day,
But we'll be victors just the same,
At least that's what the papers say.

3. We owe it to dear England's hand,
That Austro-Germans have to fast,
No bread and no potatoes there,
They'll starve to death from first to last.
It's true, all those we captured were
As stout as monks, still every day
They die by thousands everywhere
At least that's what the papers say

. . . . . .

9. But just one thing they never tell
They should have told us long ago
That we are sick to death of it,
And home we all would gladly go.
That we have had enough of war,
And no one cares to stay,
That we want peace at any price,
But this the papers never say.

8. The Psychology of Atrocity Reports.

By Dr. Wladislaus *Switalski*, Professor at the Royal Academy in Braunsberg.

> "It is impossible for the accused party to prove the falsity of all alleged atrocities, but the diffusive psychology of these myths, especially those which have come under my immediate observation during a recent trip through Holland, points out their inherent untruthfulness more conclusively, than a refutation of any number of the individual cases offered by the falsifier."
>
> Norbert Jacques, Die Flüchtlinge. Von einer Reise hinter die belgische Front (Berlin 1915) 20.

IT IS with blood and iron, that the rights of nations are vindicated through the instrumentality of war.

The greater the adversities of the conflict, the more determined the opposition, and the stronger the power of resistance of the quarreling peoples, the more stubborn, bloody and dreadful will the fighting become. In times of peace, we view with unspeakable horror, happenings, which in war become stern, daily necessities; self-preservation requires that the enemy be overcome, whatever the cost. In the light of this situation, what to the uninterested and prejudiced appears inhumane, wasteful and barbarous, may in the last resort, viewed from a higher standpoint, be the only humane alternative, because there lies within it, the most probable means of bringing the battling nations to a condition of peace and tranquility. People, as a rule, have no scruples in destroying valuable buildings, when this means the protection of their homes from the raging elements of conflagration, and the individual who is afflicted by a painful, lingering sickness does not hesitate to choose a rapid, even though dangerous operation in preference to a malignant malady. Is it then not all the more proper in war, and in accordance with all rules of morality, when the lives and fate of millions are at stake, that the quickest possible decision should be reached?

We are not underrating the severities of such resolute warfare. We are not at all astonished at the hopeless despair of the sorrow-stricken

victim, the one suffering defeat, who is forced to bear his own and his country's ruin. But we do maintain that the defeated may point an accusing finger at those who, in reality, are to be blamed for all this unspeakable sorrow and affliction. It is not of necessity the victorious opponent, who has destroyed prosperous cities and killed a rising young manhood,—but it is the war itself, whose tool this opponent is, and, in the last resort, those personal and material interests that have called forth the hideous nightmare of a war. It augurs well for a suffering nation to look back upon the beginnings and causes of the struggle, and in contrition to strike its own breast, instead of raising an indignant voice in angry ranting against its more fortunate adversary.

Not every destruction of human life, not every useless waste of fighting men, nor every devastation of property, be it ever so valuable for civilization and culture, can therefore immediately be considered an atrocity of war. *Atrocities* are deeds, which always reveal a stain of moral perversity. But how can the issue of moral perversity be brought into discussion, in happenings where an immorally directing will, as the contributory cause of an action, is entirely out of the question? Submission to higher authority, and not irresponsible individual action, marks the conduct of a good soldier in battle, and the effects of a flying bullet or an exploding bomb are completely subject to the laws of nature. A soldier shoots or bayonets his opponent; but as long as this is done in honest combat, nobody can rightfully accuse him of murder. A shell bursts through the rafters of a church and destroys the interior; whether its flight was only a mistake or whether the grenade had been aimed at the house of God, which was misused for military purposes, it would, in either case, be pharisaical hypocrisy to accuse the artillery man of sacrilege. And can it sincerely be deemed the result of barbarous tendencies, when a *work* of culture is ruined with the avowed purpose of saving from destruction the *exponents* of precisely this culture? It is a deplorable fact that the unfortunate circumstances of war wreak hardships upon decrepit old men, defenceless women and innocent children. For in the merciless horrible grind of war and its death-dealing machines, there is crushed everything that falls in its way. It is not he, who mans these machines, that is to be held responsible for this destruction, but he who neglects to protect those under his charge.

But can we not justly speak of the atrocities of war? We should be gravely misunderstood, if it were assumed that, in a moment of Utopian optimism, we attempt to disprove the possibility of war-atrocities. We do not wish to maintain that cruelties of this nature do not occur, but we only emphasize that everything, which is claimed as such, must in each instance carefully be proved an outrage. The purpose of an act

supplies the criterion, according to which we judge whether an act is proved to be an atrocity or otherwise. Everything which has been destroyed unnecessarily without the shadow of a reason, every devastation that shows an evident touch of depratory or sensual tendencies, and, in general, any lawless action which is performed without the direction of a will, answerable to duty for its deeds or misdeeds,—can in all right and justice be branded as return to barbarism, an atrocity in the worst sense of the term. We should examine also the purpose itself. If it is not essentially necessary; if it must be disavowed by the incorruptible conscience; if it is incompatible with the universally recognized standards of right,—then even the expedient act may become an atrocity.

We realize that the authenticating of atrocities is fundamentally a *problem of values and principles;* for only in as far as we accept the binding force of certain commands and duties and the true value of the purposes governing them, as also, the necessity of the means employed for their accomplishment, can we assert or deny the presence of atrocities. Of course, while the war is in progress all hope of agreement between the belligerents is entirely out of the question.

The facts, however, must be irrefutably established, before we may proceed to adjudge them according to the commands of morality. And, then, to the problem of moral estimations, which cannot ultimately be solved without the aid of ethical, political or even metaphysical considerations, is added the question of the trustworthiness of the mental faculties in the *comprehension* and *appropriation* of facts and the exactness with which these facts are reported.

In this discussion we touch upon one of the most difficult problems of psychology. To begin with, the simple *act of perception* is the result of many mutually related causes, whose strength and combination are subject to continual changes. An unsophisticated person sees nothing very puzzling in a perception of the senses, which he experiences directly. He considers it the strongest bulwark of all certitude, because in it he perceives the "external" manifestation of an external fact. But peering beneath the surface, the harder one tries to establish a scientific relationship between the perceiving subject and the perceived object, the more he will realize, with ever-increasing clearness, that this relationship is not at all as simple, as the untrained person imagines it to be. The task of illumining the dark process of perception is tedious and laborious and is only accomplished after the tangle, in which the real and the imaginative is apparently inextricable, is unraveled.

It cannot be a part of our task to analyze in detail the complexity of physical, physiological and psychical factors, the final product of which is the perception of real objects and events. Nevertheless, it might be

well for the proper consideration of these intangible, mostly uncontrollable atrocity-reports, to recall the fundamental principles which warrant an objective perception of concrete facts, unbiased by subjective opinions.

There is an old saying of philosophy that maintains, objects are conceived according to the individuality of the conceiver *(secundum modum cognoscentis)*. It is through the instrumentality of modern psychology, with its deeply-penetrating analysis and multiform experimental technique, that the whole burden of this principle is shown with ever-increasing clarity; for, by the investigation of the *subjective factors* of all our perceptions, we are gradually enabled to sift more and more to the objective kernel. It is evident from this that our references to subjectivity in the comprehension of realities are not to be taken as mere groundless guesses; for, the critical and cautioning restraint which they exert upon a thinker in his judgments, will place him all the more in a position to distinguish the truth from fiction, and, in this wise, to arrive gradually at the purer and the more precise objectivity.

The layman will without difficulty recognize as subjective factors the mechanism of the nervous system and the external organs of apprehension, the senses. He will realize the marked deviations and wavering uncertainties of perception, that conditions of exhaustion or a diseased set of nervous organs (neurasthenia, resp. hysteria) can produce. We see as it were, through the "spectacles" of our organism, and every "particle of dust" on those "spectacles" in the confusion it causes, disturbs and misdirects.

This, however, does not as yet exhaust the subjective impression. The question of becoming conscious of stimuli opens a new and, at the same time, the most important field of possibilities of alteration. That our experiences are originally conceived in a vague sort of way through sentiment and feeling, is not only shown by the recollections of our childhood days, but a careful observer can ascertain, even in persons of full mental development, a progress from obscure experiences to clear mental images. The increased *clearness* of these images depends essentially upon the completeness of stored-up memories and the readiness with which they can be called to mind. From among these "experiences", the new image stands forth according to the degree, in which it is known, and the series of experiences, which have been firmly established by frequent repetition, serves to sift, arrange and supplement the new impression. Only after these considerations, can we rightfully speak of *perceptions;* for we know, a child or an adult born-blind who has just been restored to sight, is at a loss to comprehend at once the whole confused picture which is suddenly thrust before his startled vision. The same view that greets his sight, appears to us, but in the light of our well

ordered treasure-house of past experiences, we immediately recognize it as a beautiful landscape, whose individual features and their relation to each other we distinguish with a more or less exact degree of certitude. For, we "interpret" those impressions and supplement and arrange them in a familiar form of order and dependence; and the trustworthiness and "depth" of our interpretation will depend upon the retentiveness and facility of our memory, by means of which this new perception will be arranged with more or less exactness in its proper place among past experiences that are already known to us. Interpretations of perceptions are always an enrichment of their contents. How closely these additions to our perceptions conform with the truth, we can conclude from an example in Goethe's "Erlkönig", in which the child believes he has heard the voice of the Erlkönig, although the same noise suggests nothing but a rustling of leaves to the father.

In connection with the utilizing of stimuli in conscious acts, the *"mental attitude"* is a deciding factor. In a waking state, we generally find our interests "directed" to some definite aim, and our apprehension as well as our actions are under the influence of this tendency and upon it, our choice from among the different impressions appearing to us is essentially dependent. The tendency is more a mental attitude, due to the feelings or mood of the individual, than a state of mind suggested by external conditions and connections. Sometimes this "concentration upon something" is effected by an almost inexplicable disposition to which we feel ourselves subjected and under domination of which we seem to have an "eye" for that only, which corresponds to it; at other times, we consciously set ourselves tasks which hold our attentions only as long as they happen to be an absorbing consideration in our vital acts and tendencies. This explains the fact that much, which has strongly impressed our senses, is unnoticeably swept away by the accumulation of experiences, because it does not correspond to our momentary mental attitude. In this consideration, it is to be noticed that the mental attitude not only exercises a decisive influence on the choice of the thing to be conceived, but also upon the interpretation, arrangement and final combination of the conceived thing.

Besides the strength and fulness of the stimuli, the acuteness of the senses and the functional condition of the nervous system, the exact, truthful and complete comprehension of real facts depends upon the number of stored up experiences, and ease of access thereto and, above all, upon the "mental attitude". This is nothing more than an independence of judgment influenced to some extent in sifting and combining of materials, offered by experience, by irrelevant motives. For this reason, differences and even contradictions in the comprehension of different

individuals in one and the same set of external circumstances cannot be prevented. None of the above-mentioned factors, let alone their intimate relations, are identically the same in any two individuals. There is a well-known experiment of a famous present-day jurist who, after proposing a fictitious case to his audience, immediately called upon his surprised hearers for the facts of the matter. The reports of the different individuals were amazingly contradictory.

Only a conscientious and critical self-observation, a disinterested comparison of one's own deductions with those obtained from other sources, and a careful analysis and valuation of its effects, will enable us to construct, in its entirety, an occurrence of which we were witnesses. In this place we must on the one hand especially guard against the fantastic representation of an experience, which unperceivedly leads to a labyrinth of self-invented fiction, and, on the other, against the all too-inadequate and meager conception of the man in the street.

When the inner life of a human being is torn by conflicting emotions, a calm, dispassionate consideration of a fact, which carefully observes every detail and correctly and justly weighs each extenuating circumstance, often becomes a difficult matter, and, at times, almost an utter impossibility. Sympathies and antipathies, wishes, hopes and fears, regard for others, favorite plans and prejudices, bedim the eyes of the mind and impair the critical independence of our observations.

Am I, as an observer, at all partial, then, unnoticed and unintended on my part, the "scene" of the fact is gradually shifted, so as entirely to contort the original. I underline what especially suits my convictions. I cancel with unnecessary assiduity everything that opposes my opinions. I overlook what is unfavorable. I take for granted what pleases me. In short, I judge the whole proceedings, leniently with indulgence, or spitefully with unnecessary rigor, just as friend or foe happens to be under consideration. Instead of the real event there appears a highly-colored subjective picture, differing much from the original. Everything is now ready for misrepresentation and suspicion in their worst forms.

Nevertheless, the real difficulty in the true and faithful reproduction of an experience and the objective event, which underlies this experience, is found not so much in the entangled perception-process, with its self-constituted formation of impressions, as in the stamp or character it assumes when *uttered*. We now pass over the threshold of purely inner-psychical happenings. Not the relationship of subject to object, but the mutual influence of one subject upon another, will now be the principal topic of our consideration. Whether I speak or write, I am, unwillingly and unknowingly, led to adapt my representations to the mental capabilities and general interest of my hearers and prospective readers. I wish

to be understood, but, at the same time, to entertain and "make an impression". As an *observer,* I may have a purely objective interest in an event, but as a *reporter,* I am personally interested. The environment upon which I am dependent and which I intend to influence, entertains certain expectations and makes specified demands. It requires not an inconsiderable amount of resistance, a determined spirit of independence and strength of character, to resist the temptations brought up by this new situation. One wishes to be considered an important witness of an event. There is the desire to have been prominent or at least to have been in a position to have carefully noted all, that had transpired. How quick were our perceptions, and how accurate our judgments. How easily are we satisfied with our ability to fulfill the expectations of our audience, if not actually to surpass their fondest hopes. What an agreeable sensation it is to awaken the passions of a multitude, to feed and direct their emotions, to play as it were, upon their souls, as upon an instrument, to move to tears, and in the next moment, to raise to the highest pitch of enthusiasm and inspiration. Then, too, there is the possibility of being animated by worthy motives of moral duty and responsibility. We feel our responsibility, and desire, for this reason, to cause our listeners no disquietude of soul or uncertainty of mind. We attempt to strengthen their power of resistance by our representations and exert ourselves to bring clearly to mind the necessity of determined effort in meeting all sacrifices, that may be required. All of these motives, on account of their speculative character, constantly disturb that mental balance which is absolutely necessary for the faithful reproduction of an accepted truth. The report unconsciously assumes a practical tone, laudatory or polemic, and the exhortation or attack, with which the statement ends, naturally weakens the trustworthiness of the narration, because for practical purposes of our own we are liable to be led into injustices and calumnies, into favorably-colored extravagances or deceptive suppressions of facts.

In this event, the report reacts upon the conception of the reporter and, whether he wishes it or not, he is under the influence of his description. By means of handy turns of expression and convenient arrangement of circumstances, his account unnoticeably leads him into paths that deviate widely from the real happening, he is trying to portray. The real reproduction becomes distorted or is entirely missed by the conventional form in which it is presented. And once it has been molded into this conventional form, it immediately and arbitrarily takes on a more or less constant, well-defined existence of its own. Even if in the beginning these deviations of the report are dimly felt, the more the actual event loses its defined outlines by the natural dimming of the

memory, and the more firmly the combined story, manufactured by this arbitrary choice of data, is fixed in the mind by frequent repetition, giving it objective value to the narrator, the more will the report, with its self-chosen and self-arranged events, take the place of the real occurrence. Now it is no longer a case of the relator's confidence in his ability to represent the event convincingly, but he has made himself believe that the whole affair has happened just as he represents it.

Speech, the principal, if not the only instrument for the offering of a report, however, is the product and the form of expression of human reciprocal action. As soon as we give credence to the influence of speech in its alterations of an original experience, we overstep the limits, which up to this time have distinguished psychological considerations, which deal essentially with the actions of individuals, from those which represent the so-called *"psychology of the masses."* Suggestibility, that faculty which enables men to be influenced by ever-varying possibilities of change, explains how the experiences and deeds of individuals, in spite of their exclusive self-concentration, mingle with each other and become so modified and changed that, as a result, universal images originate which can not be explained by the psychology of individuals. The individual is plunged, as it were, into a spiritual atmosphere, whose germs and powers call forth emotions, for which he can scarcely be held entirely accountable; and these emotions, drawing together, as they do, people who are one in sympathy, constitute the native soil which produces the imaginings of the "mobmind". The panic, that for little or no reason seizes upon a multitude, the giddy enthusiasm of eventhinking individuals in spite of their critical misgivings and, even the slow, continually-changing manners and views of all classes of men, are examples of the above-mentioned effects of community life. The individual finds himself, so to speak, under the atmospheric pressure of that class, to which he is either continually subject or under whose influence he temporarily happened to fall, and whatever takes place or develops during this high state of mental tension bears indelibly the mark of its origin.

As members of a collective-body the individuals constituting the entirety are effected differently, depending upon whether the body is organized or was merely thrown together accidentally. The *organized body,* especially that of a politically united nation which has a hundred years or more of existence behind it, acquires in its habits a stamp of permanence, which goes toward the establishment of characteristics that apply essentially to every member of the organization or community. Their influence upon the modes of action of the individual is constant and is, for this reason, comparatively easy to account for. These common characteristics explain why members of the same community understand

one another better than those who, in reference to time and place, are widely separated, and why, in one and the same organization, there is a uniformity of conception and sentiment, of intention and action, which, on account of its general spread, is considered as objectively and generally valid, although it represents a mode of reaction peculiar to this one particular community only. The individual is so completely incorporated as a part of the whole body, that he can no more judge without prejudice of this body, than he can of himself. On the other hand, he can truthfully appreciate all that transpires in the community, because he is so intimately a part of it, that he experiences its sufferings and utterings, as his own. In this apparent paradox, we have an explanation for the yawning chasm which separates individual nations, and the misunderstandings they mutually entertain for each other, especially in times of great excitement or outbursts of popular indignation. The more defined this subjective characteristic of the individual nation is, the wider will be the chasm, and the more difficult a just and immediate understanding and reconciliation.

However, we are more interested in the destruction of the mental balance, which the accidentally accumulated mass, the *unorganized mob* forces upon the individual with or without his consent. Here we find in a high state of development, all the sources of error which we exposed in the analysis of individual perceptions and individual statements. The mob has a thousand eyes and a thousand ears and, above all, thousands upon thousands of tongues, but no uniformly-regulating and correcting centre. It indiscriminately picks up everything and spreads it with lightning rapidity, without an opportunity of arranging and rearranging the details, of shifting the data and proving their reliability. Whatever it apprehends is immediately appropriated, with all the crudities of its obscure origin. Incongruities and improbabilities are formed into a variegated, grotesque hotch-potch, which is immerged in the murky floods of a people's passions by thousands of nameless individuals. That, which would but momentarily affect an individual, here assumes the proportions of a mass-phenomenon which, as a high-mounting raging ocean wave, whipped by the storms of liberated instincts, angrily sweeps before it everything that attempts to block its path. This consideration will enable us to understand the rapid, senseless change, in disposition and in mood, of a mob, the instantaneous transition from "Hosanna" to "Crucify Him".

The mob is an overgrown, immature child. It never gains experience and possesses no character. It is always incompetent and irresponsible, but, in its very irresponsibility, it is extremely dangerous. How can a mob which we have compared to a storm-tossed ocean, truthfully reflect occurrences without misrepresentations and distortions? How can

it be expected to give a well-ordered and exact expression to information, gathered haphazard and by the way? The mob is always, even in times of peace and in circumstances of comparative quiet, under the domination of prejudices, which are expressed in hackneyed phrases and stereotyped catch-words, rendered all the more effective because they are offered in this way. And the multitude, governed as it is by vague moods and prejudices, is readily disposed to see only what it wishes to see and to interpret everything, just as it, at the moment, feels inclined to interpret.

The mob is, consequently, an incubator, adapted to the hatching of uncontrollable and untenable rumors. When only repeating a statement, an individual feels himself less accountable for its contents, than if he had himself brought it to light. He is only repeating what he has heard, being careful to leave the impression that he is indifferent to its truth or falsity. The listener is now scarcely more than a step removed from accepting the narrative as conclusively proved. In this wise an idle word, half understood and soon completely distorted, passes from mouth to mouth, gathering material, as it goes on, in its work of distortion and misrepresentation. What hundreds and thousands repeat and believe, what even the papers print, takes on, in the light of these facts, so great a prestige for reliability, that a person finds it difficult, if not hopelessly impossible, to keep from being impressed. It seems to make very little difference, whether the original source of the report can be given, or further, whether authentic vouchers for the truth of the statement can be found. (*Alleged* eye-witnesses are always easily obtained.) All that is required is the fact that we continually hear the report, that it is in itself "possible", or even highly "probable", because we wish it, we hope it and fear it. And is the rumor at all sensational or horrifying, it stirs up the easily excited, low-born instincts that slumber ever so lightly in the hearts of the masses, and is all the more assured of a ready and enthusiastic reception. Moreover, as has already been suggested, the mere propagation is not all. Everybody adds a little of his own manufacturing, emphasizing some details, suppressing others or adorning the whole beyond recognition with new and borrowed lights. And the rumor sweeps forward like a mighty avalanche. *Fama crescit eundo.* It not infrequently happens that a report has been so distorted that, if by chance it comes back to the innocent originator, he accepts it as something objective, as a new and unexpected proof of his own original report, —and as such he hurls it back into circulation. Those, who recall the numberless, contradicting reports, circulating from mouth to mouth at the beginning of the war, caused by the spy-scare or fear of a threatening enemy, will readily understand the truth of our contention.

Our examinations into the conditions of perceptions and the expression of these same perceptions, have brought to mind the influence that subjectivity, in its different forms, has upon the conception and reproduction of objective facts and circumstances. To exclude this subjective influence, or at least to neutralize its effects, is a chief and absolutely necessary condition for the truth and reality of our reports. The following out of this program becomes a difficult matter, especially when it treats of circumstances that have an intimate bearing upon ourselves. Not to be overlooked are the supra-individual features, which we can assert in the use of speech. In the consideration of reports, however, that originate through rumors and are carried along by the mob in a series of mutilations and distortions, these influences play an all-important role.

What we have established without taking a special look at the contents of a report, holds in an added degree for declarations of pretended or even real eye-witnesses of past *atrocities*. Horror, even if merely imagined, has so powerful and soul-stirring an effect upon the sensibilities of man, that the critical self-control of an ordinary narrator in speaking of these dreadful experiences, is almost, if not entirely, a negligible quantity. It is not to be overlooked that the witnesses of an alleged or real atrocity have, for a considerable time, been under the oppressing influence of high nervous tension, prompted either by fear or unusual solicitude.[1] The psychical state of mind, brought on by this tension, expresses of its own accord a pre-conceived prejudice against the feared, if not hated opponent, which naturally enough attempts to interpret to its own liking that which has been only imperfectly observed. The mental condition, which of itself is strongly predisposed to the acceptance of external facts, is strengthened by the suggestive influence which friends and neighbors of a like disposition of mind exert upon the excited eye-witness by their remarks, judgments and accusing delineations and descriptions. That reports of this nature, which spring into being through pathological agencies, are to be taken with a critical reserve, every one, no matter how lenient, will be forced to admit.

A typical example of a report originated in this fashion, which, in spite of repeated denials, is still persistently spread broadcast, is the case of the Vice Rector of the Louvain University, Msgr. Conraets.[2] According to his own statement, the Germans had accepted him as a hostage and shortly after had ordered him to read a proclamation on the streets of the city. Scarcely had he commenced the reading of the mandate,

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1 Miss Marie Louise Becker has convincingly shown by what means the common people of France and Belgium have for years been systematically incited against their German "hereditary enemy". French literature and the stage have been the principal agencies of this poisonous agitation. (Ein Beitrag zur Aufklärung der feindlichen Greuelberichte. Berlin, Konkordia 1915).

2 Cf. Rosenberg 46.

when bullets began to fall among the German soldiers. These made a rush upon the Monsignore, who as a hostage was to pay the penalty for the treacherous misdeeds of his fellowtownsmen. A German officer, however, succeeded in checking the enraged soldiers and brought the Vice Rector to a place of safety. Later he was supplied with a passport and allowed to leave the city for Gensterbloom. So much for the facts. In Louvain itself, in view of the unfortunate event, everybody was absolutely convinced that the Vice Rector had been shot, and many went so far as to point out, in all sincerity, the exact spot where he was supposed to have met his doom.

Here it is plainly evident that the overheated imaginations of the inhabitants of Louvain, who, by this rapid succession of dreadful events, were stirred to the depths of their souls, had supplied the gaps in their observations, and, in this way, manufactured a part of the story. It was a foregone conclusion that hostages were to be held accountable for the transgressions of their fellow-townsmen, which, very often, meant death by shooting. It had possibly been seen that the soldiers rushed upon the Vice Rector. Then followed the incident of his sudden and unaccounted for disappearance from the city. These combined circumstances, together with the general hatred of the people for the enemy whose unrelentless severities they considered brutal, precluded any other explanation.

It is precisely this antipathy against a foe, the hatred born of ignorance and fear coupled with an involuntary admiration of the opponent, that prepares conditions especially favorable for the originating and developing of atrocity-reports. To this must be added the demoralizing effects created by stupid and criminal reproaches, which a catchword, such as that of "German barbarian," surely constitutes. The "German barbarian" commits atrocities, wherever he goes. This, at least, is the preconceived opinion of the credulous and deluded peoples of the enemy's country,—and officials frivolously encouraged this notion. Everything a German soldier does is, to say the least, to be mistrusted. The most insignificant act which affords a possible chance for an unfavorable interpretation, the most harmless and innocent of occasions will be misconstrued and misrepresented. Unavoidable military operations are not distinguished by the prejudiced enemy from real horrors, and when a soldier really happens to be guilty of a violation, which in an army of millions cannot be prevented in spite of the strictest discipline,—the enemy, with triumphant spite, hurries to point to that incident as a proof, I might almost say a welcome confirmation, of a thesis which in advance has been taken for granted. In the light of this mental state of the people, would it not be an enticing temptation to invent atrocities, so as to enable the

calumniator to make use of the occasion for his own purposes and to arouse the enraged masses to actions which he may deem expedient. We have had similar experiences in the East. Here the Russians were the hated and feared aggressors. Atrocities were really committed, and to such extent that we must refuse to make a comparison between the Russian and the German army. Nevertheless, the rumors that made the rounds of our border provinces, were grotesquely exaggerated. For, later official investigations showed that the Russian staff, especially during the first invasion, took strong disciplinary measures to prevent outrages and that the better Russian regiments made it a point of honor to conduct themselves honorably in the field.

At this stage, we should be allowed the opinion that at least the *official reports,* which should be the result of calm and unprejudiced investigation of this kind, and which, for the most part, depend entirely upon information substantiated by oath, should always be free from every touch of untruthfulness and exaggeration. We do not deny the importance of these official inquiries, even if we are constrained to point out that not infrequently they are conducted without any definite results. But even when some positive information seems to have been discovered through these official inquests, we must nevertheless make two reservations before we can quietly accept their offerings. An indispensible presupposition of the absolute reliability of facts gained and established in this way should, above all, be the earnest endeavor of the authorities, with absolute impartiality, to gather and report the facts. Whether this sort of impartiality on the part of human judges, who are in a responsible position, and who are filled with the passions of war, can be attained, or even expected, will not be decided here. At all events, we have the assurance of competent authorities that the official Russian reports, anent alleged atrocities of German soldiers, show an utter disregard for even an attempt of being impartial. Likewise French and English official reports have repeatedly given occasion to essential corrections which could not be rebutted.

The second reservation pertains to the judging of statements made under oath. Since most of the inaccurate rumors are originated and spread in good faith, the oath, required for the elimination of errors, cannot be of much avail. And further, it is precisely in this demand for sworn statements that the less steadfast and stout-hearted individual finds himself especially prone to blunders and mistakes. As before, he is thrown into a state of nervous excitement. He feels not a little flattered and honored by these official demands, or is, perhaps, anxious and somewhat overawed. He carefully searches his mind in the attempt to reproduce everything exactly as he knows it. The questions confuse him.

He wishes, by all means, to give an answer, and unknowingly enhances, shifts, suppresses or amplifies the reality to such a degree that in many cases not even the continued corrections, obtained by comparing the statements of the individual witnesses, can furnish a satisfactory or entirely incontestable result.

If it is already a hard task to prove the truth of a report of an atrocity, it becomes all the more a doubtful proposition to let oneself decide in regard to the *significance* and *ethical* worth of things ascertained in this manner. There is many a question to be considered. Was the deed really an atrocity? If so, is it only an individual case to which no importance is to be attached, or is it a symptom of "Militarism," or even the external manifestation of the so-called "Kultur" of the enemy? How do the occurrences which are put down as facts by the enemy, compare with those that happen in their own camp? Has the critic a right to scoff at, or condemn, his suspected opponent? It will not do to judge an individual case only according to the accepted ideal standards of worth, but it should be considered in connection with the general conduct of the foe, and, in the last resort, with an eye to the preceding events of the war, so as to be able, from the facts on hand, to draw authoritative conclusions regarding the character of the enemy. A problem of this kind cannot be solved by snap judgments. For, who would dare in the twinkling of an eye to decide the cause of a concrete individual atrocity in all its bearings; to appraise the motives governing it; to determine its moral character, not from a theoretic viewpoint of doctrine, but from the position of a sober judge who carefully weighs all difficulties and makes all necessary allowances; to consider it from an opponent's point of view; and, finally, to compare without prejudice the deportment of the enemy with the conduct of his own troops.

Nevertheless, we daily experience how wantonly, or shall I say unscrupulously, people disregard these and similar considerations. Nothing is easier than a charitable clothing of one's own weaknesses. Nothing seems more simple than the generalizing of others' faults. While this clothing of weaknesses points out how difficult it is to judge without prejudice of oneself and one's surroundings, the tendency to consider an error, because it has *once* been observed, of *constant* occurrence and *common to all,* requires a more exact elucidation. First of all, we notice that this generalizing tendency is deeply rooted in the psychological element of our general modes of action. The continuation of the existence of our consciousness depends upon this, that an experience, even if it has disappeared from the consciousness, continues to have after-effects and that these after-effects induce us to seek out, first of all, everything in each new experience that is already known to us. This throws light upon

the uniformity of the reaction experienced in the first emotions of our mind. Furthermore, it explains the unsophisticated security with which the child or the natural man attempts to interpret the riddles of the Universe in an extremely simple way. The *generalization* of perception once appropriated by us, is at the same time a *simplifying* of our means of acquiring experiences, because it is adapted, as much as possible, to the conservation of psychical energy. The progress of the mental development naturally discovers new obscurities and new difficulties which cannot so readily be solved. It prepares one disillusion after another for this primitive mode of thinking and acting, and a mature person will be the more prudent to judge with reservation and act with care. At the same time, he will also be tempted to make use of this "energy saving method" of simplifying generalization. For the immature masses, of course, it will always be impossible to arrive at opinions in any other way than in this crude manner. But that precisely the faults of others are gladly universalized, is due to the almost unconsciously working tendency to point to the faults of others, in justification of our own. And are the deeds of the enemy under consideration, this belittling generalization will be supported by the already sensitive attitude of dislike, distrust or even hatred. As an apology for this state of affairs, we suggest the existing difficulties of establishing as a definite individual, the real perpetrator of an outrage. We are not so apt to lay the blame upon this particular person X, but our accusation points more frequently to "the" enemy in general, as the guilty party in an alleged atrocity. It is but a little step from this vague mode of expression to the definite assertion that "all" enemies deport themselves in like manner.

As a necessary condition of the origin, spread and universalizing highly exaggerated, if not absolutely groundless reports of atrocities, the permanent or temporary mental dependence of the individual is just as apparent, as was the same dependence in the case of the masses. A person of immature or diseased mind will not be able to grasp the deceptive and confusing motives of an act, or to arrive at its true, inherent value. The confusion of experiences naturally dims the eyes of the soul. Where there is no unity or independent order of thinking, there can evidently be no thought of a critical deposition of experiences. A person disposed in this way will be tossed, as a ball, by his moods, his humors and whims, offering himself without the least resistance of will to the domination of external influences. If he errs in the judgment of a fact only by a hair's breadth, he will easily allow himself to be deceived and, while deceived, to be swept forward to inconsiderate action.

To publish and spread, as true, highly exaggerated or even groundless reports, is the sign of a lack of mental independence or even an unscrup-

ulous act of imposition upon the credulity of less intelligent or, at least, less informed persons. Both the dependence and the unscrupulousness cannot be reconciled with the pretensions of refined intellectual culture. Anyone who, on account of an accumulation of reports of this kind, feels inclined to reproach others with barbarism, should, first of all, carefully examine himself, so as to be sure that, in the reception, sifting and combining of accusations, he has exercised the caution necessary to stamp him as a man of mature judgment and critical discernment.

Were we to ask the *authors of the French indictment* to examine themselves along these indicated lines, we might receive an answer from the contents of the pamphlet itself, from the principles and catch-words governing it, and from the peculiar distribution of light and shade, which the contributors introduce. A vindication of every concrete individual case which is supposed to be an index to this peculiar species of German barbarism, is at present impossible. The authentic documents, we have gathered up to the present, pertaining to the reliability of the reports propagated by this pamphlet, place them, to put it mildly, in a very unfavorable light. In view of our psychological investigations, it appears more to the purpose, instead of trying to cut off one or another of the many heads of the Hydra of slander, to establish, by means of a criticism obtained through the fundamental, if sketchy exposition of facts, the character and worth of the pamphlet and of the heaped-up reports of atrocities found in its pages.

Of course, if we were content to accept the high sounding assurances of the authors without any reservation, it might become a difficult matter to answer their accusations. Do not they themselves commend the "dispassionate conviction" (XII) with which they offer their contribution to their readers! They wish to comprehend things impartially in the name of "truth and justice," "wherever they may be found" (2). They set themselves up as the authorized representatives of a "truly scientific" and "truly Christian" spirit of knowledge (286). They characterize a lie, as an outrage against "chivalry" (16), leaving no doubt in the minds of the readers that they have always conducted themselves in a "chivalrous" manner. They do not attempt to deny that their pamphlet is to serve the "French propaganda," but they protest the imputation that it is their intention to indulge in the "ridiculous and hopeless attempt" of forcing the verdict of the neutral nations (IX f.).

It is precisely these emphatic asservations that serve to confuse the critical reader. He knows plain truth and veracity need no further fictitious confirmation. The exalted tone of conviction, with which the reliability of the pamphlet and its reports is confirmed by the Arch-

bishop of Paris (VI), and the strange deduction (X) that those far away from the scene of battle can be legitimate star-witnesses for the plaintiff, because they belong to the "élite of French Intellectuals" and live in Paris, the vital center of France, will not be able to confute the testimony of the simplest of calm and unprejudiced observers. At the sight of so much self-presumption, the reader will naturally be more or less distrustful, and will take with a grain of salt, the assumption of the publishers that their work is a work of justice and that their powers of judgment are inspired by the "truly scientific and truly Christian spirit of knowledge." It is evident that anyone who assumes an exclusive standpoint of this kind, from the very beginning closes his eyes to his own weaknesses and mistakes, and makes an unprejudiced proof and consideration of the "why and the wherefore" of a fact, an impossibility.

In view of these facts, we impute to our French accusers, a no less than one-sided, feeble "mental attitude," which consciously or unconsciously leads to mistakes. Our reproach corroborated by the French practice of "coloring" reports. The sentiment and culture of France is painted in a halo of glory and light, while Germany's thought and action are shrouded in shadows and darkness. Naturally enough, the irreligious attitude of leading French circles would not allow itself to be entirely and flatly contradicted. Apparently, this difficulty caused the authors some embarrassment. But the remedy is easy of attainment, since it is not a difficult matter to beat an honorable retreat by the use of a few harmless, empty-sounding words and phrases (VII, IX, 145 and repeatedly). With an affected solicitude, they profess to be pleased with the insignificant concessions (in themselves shamefully inadequate) of the French authorities to the Catholics of the country (143), which is all the more surprising, when contrasted with the pharisaical fault-finding with which they view and generalize in an unfavorable light, everything that pertains to the enemy. Ultimately, they seize upon the handiest, even if the most ungentlemanly means of defense, unceremoniously laying the inexcusable deportment of irreligious France to the account of German influence (29). In this fashion, in spite of all difficulties, they have cleverly succeeded in giving the reader so decided an impression of the subversive and dangerous character of the German cultural spirit, that a special relation of "atrocities" would scarcely be necessary. For, what barbarians of this stamp do, *must* of its very nature be deserving of condemnation.

This truly partial "state of mind" is indicative of the developments that follow. Only witnesses of the prosecution are allowed to testify. In elaborate, rhetorical language the basest accusations are accumulated against the Germans. Every misconstruable or (intentionally) misun-

derstood opinion of an individual author, every blunder of a newspaper, every misdemeanor of a soldier is welcomed as a proof for the alleged general meanness of the foe. Pious letters and statements, as well as the virtuous acts of French soldiers are advanced to typify the characteristics of the soldiers of France, in contrast to the failings typical of the "barbarians".

The following is the opinion of a neutral observer, published in the "Maasbode" of the 13th of September, 1915, and appearing later in the "Kölnische Volkszeitung" in No. 768 of Sept., the 18th: "There are several contributions which do not come up to the expectations aroused by the preface, contributions which treat not of the good name of France, but which, according to the intention of the publishers, are to establish a notorious reputation for Germany. With this in mind, the authors set to work. They either falsely attribute to German Catholics, doctrines which are much at variance with the great principles of faith and morals taught in other Catholic countries, or they judge them according to deeds committed during times of war, which judgments will necessarily be clouded and distorted. This is especially true when they enter upon the dangerous ground of atrocities, for, from the possible outrages which the baser elements of the enemy are supposed to have perpetrated, they argue to a system of misdemeanors, according to which the enemy in general conducts himself".

How little real, impartial value, as a properly balanced scale of judgment, this comparison of the conduct of German and French soldiers has, is concretely shown in the Album, appended to the pamphlet. Destroyed churches, imperilled hospitals, broken crosses and shattered statues are supposed to be indications of German sentiment and German modes of action, while the piety and religious fervor of the French are characterized by pictures of divine services upon the battlefield, by representations of conferences of French authorities with the local priests (surely not held for religious purposes), or, above all, by the supposedly pathetic, but in reality theatrical scene of a single soldier at his prayers, before and after battle. But for the evident intention of suggestively influencing the unsuspecting masses by these representations, one would be tempted to smile at their naiveté. The publishers here show themselves past masters of the art of "simplifying generalizations" which, as we have already pointed out, is really "energy-saving", even if less exact. This is no longer mere partiality, it has become unprincipled calumny. They do not take into account that, without much difficulty, the roles could be exchanged, that any numbers of pictures and poses exhibiting the piety of the German army could easily be gathered, and that views revealing the French Staff and individual French soldiers in just as

shady a light as the much slandered Germans, would be quite easily procured. It seems to make little difference with them that this practice stigmatizes the Germans with the charge of immorality, even if acts of the latter are in reality necessities of war, recognized as such by *all* nations.

This clears the way for the question, are there necessities of war which, in spite of their deplorable character, can in reality be considered unavoidable? We here touch upon the problem of values and principles, indicated in the beginning of our discussion, which, as we firmly believe, plays an important part in the final adjudgment of atrocity-reports. The importance of the fundamental "moral valuation" of the deportment of friend and foe is also known to the publishers of the French indictment. Consequently, they make a representation of the Christian commandments pertaining to the war, the basis of their argument. For the same reason special emphasis is placed upon the reproach that the conduct of the Germans is a notorious violation of the natural law and of the fundamental precepts of Christianity; that it is guided by the motto, much quoted by the publishers, "Might makes Right"; and that it brazenly exhibits an egoistic relativism which is alleged to be generally spread throughout Germany.

We refrain from discussing the strange analyzation of the German philosophy of life and conduct, based on an arbitrary interpretation of the history of philosophy; here as in their other inductions, our opponents unscrupulously indulge in "simplifying generalizations." Furthermore, after all we have said, we cannot be astonished that the authors who pose as the knightly defenders of truth and justice, do not scruple apodictically to condemn the German bent of mind. Finally, we bear in silence the empty quibbling as practiced by M. Goyau who, in contrast to his recognized brilliancy, furnishes examples of "play on words" like this one: *Le bien est bien, le mal est mal (40).* Leaving all these trifles aside, we want, in conclusion, to submit the question, whether *the application of the universal moral principles* and the *abstract precepts,* deduced from these, to the *concrete individual cases* of a confused, entangled reality is, after all, as easy and self-evident, as the artificial arguments of the French pamphlet would have us believe. We know full well that by asking this question we expose ourselves to the suspicion of an un-Catholic mind (cf. 25), but these notoriously prejudiced suspicions of our accusers cannot disturb us in the least.

In the answering of this question, we shall consider the principal charge which will give us the keynote of the whole pamphlet. In doing so, we offer the further question, what importance and meaning are we to attribute to the motto, "Might makes Right." It is evident, a com-

prehensive answer to this question demands a special investigation. Nevertheless, in the face of this serious charge, we cannot keep from distinguishing briefly between the right and the wrong of the motto, to arrive at a refutation of these slanderous suspicions.

An ideal judge and a well-informed Christian man will uncompromisingly reject the brutal interpretation of this motto, to the effect that might without any co-cause creates "right". This is the viewpoint of a man of violence who recognizes neither super-individual nor super-empiric law. To him reality means truth and the state of existence, the necessity of existence; and, as a final result, he does not recognize the objective stability and inviolability of anything in this life and excludes the mind, as a sensibly directing regulator, from all his acts and experiences.

Hence do we profess, without reservation, the principles of the Christian philosophy of life and conduct. We firmly believe that an intelligent order regulates all human events; and only in so far as they are in accordance with the Christian ideas of justice, honor and charity, can the lives and deeds of men be combined into a well-ordered whole. With the writer of the first article of the French pamphlet, we would gladly welcome the day when the human race will allow itself to be perfectly leavened by the saving Christian spirit of a life of virtue and grace.

It would be a return to political Romanticism, if we assume from this the duty of regulating the conduct of nations by eliminating vital national interests, and by forming abstract principles and ideas according to which the complicated actualities were to be molded. The viewpoint of an individual and of individual nations is naturally one-sided. For this reason, their mental range of vision is too narrow and their interests are too strongly prejudiced to enable them, objectively and from every angle of view, to consider the underlying facts and to decide validly whether a thing is, here and now, right or wrong. Of course, each must act according to his own conscience, and the moral responsibility of an individual or a nation increases with their position in the world or their influence upon the rest of mankind,—there is no fundamental separation of politics from moral responsibility—; but what subjectively may be conceived a duty, does not always correspond to objective right. Furthermore, subjective duties often come into conflict, while moral good and justice always go together in unbroken harmony. No doctrinal fault-finding is of any avail in this conflict of duties. Right must prevail, and as to might, Providence uses it to establish more and more firmly the right,—not between this and tomorrow, but through all the vicissitudes of historic struggles.

It is, therefore, pharisaical blindness to identify without reservation

one's own viewpoint with objective justice, and to condemn from this imagined lofty position the opponent. He who has a clear conscience, will bow down, in reverence, before the All-Knowing Judge in whose hands the final decision lies, and say with the Apostle *"Nihil mihi conscius sum, sed non in hoc justificatus sum.*—I am not conscious to myself of anything, yet I am not hereby justified" (I Cor. 4, 4).

This humble self-restraint, which does not anticipate the judgment of God, is the only correct state of mind for the objective judging and estimating of real or alleged atrocities. To him who lacks this self-restraint,—as the publishers of the French work do,—the words of François Veuillot, which we quote from the French indictment (127), emphatically apply, "Ils ne trompent, d'ailleurs, que les esprits prévenus qui veulent être trompés—They deceive only prejudiced minds who wish to be deceived!"

9. Art and Sacred Buildings in the War.

By Dr. Jos. *Sauer*, Professor at the University of Freiburg, Breisgau.

BEFORE our opponents in the present world-struggle could boast of any notable military achievement, they had directed against us a volley of abuse, accusation and slander that has no parallel in history. Every conceivable crime and outrage was laid at our door; these charges were put forth not against individuals, but against the German nation as a whole; the misdeeds themselves were alleged to exhibit features of special perversion. This warfare of ink, accompanying the great battles like a sneaking shadow, was reduced to a definite system after the incidents of Louvain and Dinant and the bombardment of the Cathedral of Reims. A specious pretext for charging us with desecrating and destroying incomparable works of art and valued historic landmarks had been found. Hastily a Belgian Commission of Investigation, composed of members of all political parties, collected whatever could be construed to the disadvantage of the German army. Without even the pretense of a critical evaluation, it raked together the excited statements of unknown, irresponsible witnesses, floating and intraceable rumors, mere suspicions and the passionate incriminations of an infuriated populace, and, on the basis of this unsifted material, it framed its official indictment. The material, thus compiled, has again and again been recast, but never properly verified. It was rehashed and exploited in behalf of religious prejudice by the Committee of French Catholics who fathered the widely advertised pamphlet: 'La Guerre Allemande et le Catholicisme.' The central charge made therein against the Germans is that, without reason and necessity, they demolish and ravage churches and masterpieces of art. The same charge is taken up in another pamphlet entitled, 'Les Allemands destructeurs de cathédrales et de trésors du passé' (Paris, Hachette 1915) and sponsored by a number of Frenchmen of literary renown. This pamphlet which claims to be 'an official report on the bombardment of Reims, Arras, Senlis, Louvain, Soissons' makes a great show of substantiating its contention by an elaborate display of what purport to be convincing arguments. It follows, however, much the same lines of thought as the above mentioned publication of the French Catholics.

Though it professes to give a fair and impartial presentation of the evidence, its coarse invectives and perfidious insinuations could not be surpassed by the vilest of yellow sheets. To a still lower level we must assign Louis Colin's book, bearing the title: '1914. Les Barbares à la trouée des Vosges' (Paris, Bloud 1915). Childish garrulity, utter lack of discernment and boastful conceit distinguish this collection of accounts by would-be eye-witnesses.

The trend of the argument, if such a proceeding deserves the name of reasoning, in all these cases is the same. A catalogue of sacred and profane edifices, mutilated or destroyed by the Germans (no mention being made of those which have suffered at the hands of their own soldiers), is drawn up; Reims and Louvain figure prominently as witnesses of German barbarism. The destruction, wherever it occurred, is ascribed to a spirit of savagery and a destructive mania, which are said to have been manifested, most deliberately and uniformly, not only in the conduct of individuals, but of the whole army, and especially, of its commanders. Next, by a clever trick of dialectic legerdemain, the whole nation is made responsible for this supposed policy of frightfulness, because a number of representative German scholars raised their voice against the defamations and calumnies spread by its enemies. To crown this astonishing piece of sophistry, the authors then seriously inquire into the causes of this systematic cruelty and calculated atrocity, which they have taken for granted. It is to be traced back to the forbears of the German people 'who, living in impenetrable forests and continually at war with their neighbors, enriched themselves by plunder and pillage.' 'The spirit of brigandage and the anarchistic instinct of destruction,' thus inherited, were erected into a national creed at the German universities during the last century. The Germany of Kant, Goethe, Schiller and Beethoven has completely vanished and been superseded by the Germany of Moltke, Treitschke, Nietzsche and Bernhardi, 'the great teachers of immorality.' Under the auspices of the military party the most diabolical theories of force, unheard of under the sun, were propagated. 'The instinctive tendencies of the Huns and other barbarians were, by this band of titled criminals, elevated to deliberate norms of conduct, shrouded in a mystical terminology and epitomized for the common herd in a national catechism.' (44) Thus the French Intellectuals. In their view, German *philosophy* as taught in the German centers of learning is the root of all this depravity. Following their religious bent of mind, the French Catholics regard as the source of this alleged perversity the *anti-Clerical* and *anti-Christian* spirit fostered by the German people. The Germanic bugbear, as we see, has been dressed to suit various tastes; to impress duly those, that are indifferent to the Church and Christianity, it appears

in the garb of radical philosophy and German scholarship; to horrify properly pious Catholics and devout Christians it must don the livery of the Antichrist. To demonstrate that these barbarous destructions spring from anti-religious sentiments, is a very simple and easy task. Whenever the Germans bombard the position of an enemy, they direct their guns first against the church spires; the bishop of Verdun and other prelates have explicitly declared this to be the case (97, 100). The same inveterate anti-religious and anti-Christian character of the German warfare appears in the wanton devastation of sacred edifices. With blind fury the Germans 'demolish the places of worship' (97); yet they proceed in all this 'with cool forethought and most appropriate preparations,' as the fate of St. Pierre in Louvain proves. They carry with them inflammable materials which enable them to set fire quickly to any building or church, thus being equipped as a horde of consummate brigands and ruthless nihilists (99). Not even the Red Cross marking a church as an asylum for the wounded will afford any protection against this destructive fury, as appears in the case of Reims; not even, if the sacred roof has given shelter to their own comrades (Bertrimoutier). The Germans, we are told, are especially fond of, and find a fiendish delight in, shelling sacred edifices on Sundays and holidays or during hours of service (100).

These 'sacrilegious acts,' moreover, are represented as manifesting a strain of satanic perverseness (101). Nothing less than such a supposition would account for the alleged strange conduct of German soldiers, who ransacked the church of Clermont in the Argonnes, while the neighborhood was in flames, danced to the play of the organ and finished their orgy by setting fire to the sacred building; or of others, of whom it is said, that they dashed to pieces sacred vessels in senseless fury, or disgustingly defiled them, mutilated the statues of saints, broke open the tabernacle and desecrated the ciborium. There remains no act of the fiercest hatred of religion and of the most infuriated impiety, of which our brave troops have not been accused. These outrages, it is claimed, are not isolated occurrences, but are typical of the conduct and the spirit of the whole army and expressive of the real soul of the German nation. It is, indeed, the irony of fate, that a nation which is known to have worshipped in a most disinterested manner the literary and artistic idols of other nations and to have placed them side by side with its own, should now be accused of an insensate fury against all things of beauty and creations of art; that a nation which has fostered among its 24 million Catholics a splendidly organized and intense religious life, should be reproached with blasphemous impiety and an infernal hatred of everything Christian; that a nation, which is universally acknowledged to

have exercised most exemplary and minute care in preserving the monuments of antiquity and the treasures of art, should be charged with the wanton destruction of the magnificent, unique masterpieces of the past. The irony of the situation is intensified, when we consider that these wholesale charges are hurled against us by a nation whose own hands are not clean in this respect; whose wanton destruction of works of art in prosperous German provinces at a time, which France even now regards as its most brilliant period, is not yet forgotten; and who even, in our own days, has allowed its ecclesiastical monuments to decay and perish from mere neglect or religious indifference.

If we take all these features into account, we are inclined to dismiss as irrelevant charges made with such sweeping generality and such measureless extravagance; we are in particular inclined to deny France the right of sitting in judgment on the religious and Christian sentiments of any nation or of condemning anyone for disregard or desecration of sacred edifices. But this whole campaign of calumny was not all inspired by an interest in religious arts; it is a political trick and constitutes an essential part of the French warfare against Germany. It is inaugurated to rob the enemy of his moral prestige, and thus to prepare his defeat by the army. It has been launched to alienate from the foe the sympathies of the world, and thus to crush him by the weight of ignominy and the execration of all civilized nations. It is one of the most valuable assets in the war of France against its enemies. Accordingly all these pharisaical documents wind up with an appeal to the neutral nations for moral support of some kind. Nor have they failed of their purpose. Systematic slander has done its poisonous work. Perceptibly men in Italy (meanwhile it has deserted its one time ally), the Netherlands and the United States became estranged from a country with such an unsavory reputation. In newspapers and periodicals, in the utterances of artists, authors and scholars from all over the world the vehement denunciations of the French press were re-echoed. For some it may have been a welcome opportunity to forget their own shortcomings by assuming the role of a champion of the menaced civilization of Europe. The long-winded protest of the Academy of Lisbon is not without curious interest in this connection. All in all the French policy of bringing the odium of the world on its enemy, as a great help in its military operations, has gained its point. The concerted movement to brand us as desecrators and destroyers of irreparable historic landmarks has done us *incalculable political harm*. The specious reproach of vandalism will tell the more effectively against an inconvenient enemy in our days, because historic monuments have come to be regarded as the common property of the whole civilized world, and proper care for them is looked upon as an

obvious duty of civilization. On this fact our adversaries speculated when they sought to exploit against us the inevitable consequences and effects of the fearful destructiveness of modern warfare. To create the impression that Germany was the enemy of the common treasures of mankind was their purpose; neither were they anxious to ascertain the real facts in each case, nor were they at all sincere in their regret for the injuries caused. By this undercurrent of dishonesty and pharisaical self-justification, the whole exposé is vitiated and becomes repulsive to every unsophisticated mind. The Swedish Deputy, Dr. Charles Hildebrand, who had occasion to form his own judgment by local inspection of the conditions in Belgium and Northern France and who cannot be suspected of partiality, has this to say: 'These inky battles are more pitiless than the bloody ones; they are undoubtedly waged with less sense of responsibility; for the soldiers who stake their lives, learn to respect the enemy, whereas these knights of the pen vie with one another in deliberate vilification'[1]. That is the judgment of an impartial reader on the inspiration of these publications; his opinion on the value of the evidence adduced is not much more favorable. As a result of his own personal experience he declares the Official Belgian Reports, that underlie all subsequent publications, to be void of all credibility: 'If the charges are examined in detail, we come across so many misstatements that without hesitation the documents must be rejected as useless.'

Before we can enter on a discussion of the nature of the various charges preferred, we must say a word about the formal aspect. By the latter we do not mean the language used, for that is so intemperate and coarse, that any one gifted with the faintest trace of literary sensibility would be loath to linger over it; we mean the method of argumentation peculiar to these publications, from the pretentious Official Report down to the popularized pamphlet. We have a right to expect that anyone who hurls such enormous charges at a whole people, would manifest an ordinary sense of responsibility by adhering scrupulously to the truth and by avoiding inaccuracies, exaggerations and patent misrepresentations of facts. As a matter of fact, however, the publications in question teem with direct *falsehoods, gross exaggerations, distortions* and *suppressions of facts.* Here is a sample of what facts become under the hands of these writers, and how the original dimensions are arbitrarily magnified. According to the Official Belgian Report the greater part of Louvain, including the Cathedral and the University Library, is completely destroyed; this is overstating things, inasmuch as only one-sixth of the city is burned and the Cathedral not destroyed, but only damaged. According to the Protest communicated by the French Minister

1 Ein starkes Volk, Berlin, 1915, 60.

of Foreign Affairs to the Neutral Governments, the Cathedral of Reims was subjected to a 'systematic and furious bombardment' and is today only a heap of ruins.[2] This statement is not in accord with the actual facts; in truth, only a few shots were fired, as it appears from the records of the battery and the confirmatory testimony of a number of French eye-witnesses. Above all, the building as such actually stands and is anything but a heap of ruins. History is misquoted. Thus Veuillot, on the authority of Michel, imputes to the University of Freiburg the tactlessness of having conferred on General Werder the honorary degree of Doctor for his bombardment of the Münster of Strassburg (87). The action of the University has nothing to do with the bombardment of the famous Cathedral. The historian H. Finke has searched the archives of the University with the following result. The degree was bestowed on the General, because, in the opinion of many, his military successes effectually prevented the dreaded invasion of Southern Germany by the French troops.[3] Again it is asserted, that the destruction of the Cathedral of Reims was a long cherished and ardent desire, begotten by a passage in Görres' writings, in which he designates the annihilation of the church in which Clovis was crowned, as a patriotic duty of the Germans. No such passage, however, is to be found anywhere in the writings of the great German journalist.[4] 'La Guerre allemande' (94) charges the Germans with the destruction of St. Remi church in the diocese of St. Dié; according to the report of L. Colin[5] it was shelled exclusively by the French (bombardée par notre 75). The Album of illustrations, accompanying 'La Guerre allemande,' in like manner, falsifies history. Page 2 represents a picture of the Town Hall of Louvain and a side view of the Church of St. Pierre 'before the war'; the Town Hall in this picture is photographed from the front. Below this illustration we see its pendant: 'The Church of St. Peter: what the Germans made of it.' To the right, where the appended text locates the church, we see nothing but a heap of debris; to the left the Town Hall, but taken from a different angle than the above picture. The heap of rubbish to the right is not at all, where the church would be in this view and comes from some other building. Truthfulness would have required the editor to designate the first cut, taken before the war, as still representing the actual reality; but, of course, he would also have to cross out the pathetic sentence: *La magnifique église St. Pierre, dont il ne subsiste plus que les murs* (The magnificent St. Peter's church of which nothing but the bare walls remain). Page 18 gives a view of a shattered pillar in the nave of the

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2 Text in "Les Allemands destructeurs" 18.
3 Frankf. Ztg. June 6, 1915.
4 Cfr. Dr. Schellberg, editor of the collected works of Goerres, and Rosenberg, The German War and Catholicism, p. 75.
5 Les Barbares à la trouée des Vosges 273.

Cathedral of Soissons with the caption: *Après une cannonade allemande;* but from 'Les Allemands destructeurs' we glean, that this injury was caused by a French projectile (73). It is true, the other cuts of damaged ecclesiastical buildings do not go to such lengths of unscrupulous forgery; they do, however, seek to convey an impression of much greater havoc, than has actually been wrought. Statistics can be made to tell lies; and pictures can be made to visualize wrong impressions. It is a clever trick to which our enemies resort. By focusing the damaged part of the edifice (see the partial views of the interior and exterior of the Cathedral of Malines or the different views of Reims, A 4 and 9) and giving it disproportionate prominence, the imagination is encouraged to represent to itself the rest of the building in a similar or worse condition, acting on the principle *pars pro toto.* Such devices may be very ingenious; but they betoken no great regard for the truth.

The general tone of the publications gradually prepares the reader to accept the worst conclusions. Low motives and mean dispositions are everywhere suggested. Not a word of the fact that outside of these isolated instances of deplorable destruction, everything else is well preserved; no mention is made of the many strenuous efforts of the Germans to protect menaced edifices. These deliberate omissions bespeak the malice of the whole tendency. For if all facts had been properly registered, the buildings that were attacked and the many that were spared, the question of the specific reason for the attacks that actually did occur would have to be asked and answered. But this does not fit into their plan. Such an inquiry might reveal things which they don't care to be known. By the gentlemen of the type of Baudrillart and Barrés the motives adduced by the Germans for their actions are brushed aside as glaring subterfuges. With them there can be but one motive that has prompted the attacks on churches viz. the barbarous anti-clericalism of the Germans. By hook or crook the war is converted into a war on religion, or, wherever this does not suit, into a war on civilization. These two theses, that the present war is on the part of the Allies a crusade for Church and Christianity, and that it is the outcome of the philosophy of Kant and Nietzsche, are defended with the obstinacy of idiots. If, however, the anti-religious nature of this war is to be deduced from the fact that the Germans cannot bear the sight of a church on their march, and consistently raze them to the ground, how is it, then, that all the churches of Liege, Ghent, Antwerp, Bruges and Brussels still exist? Why especially the shrines of Hal and Nivelles, as these in a more emphatic manner arouse the ire of infidels? Why the grand Cathedral of Tournai? Why, in the midst of surrounding ruins, the church of Rethel? Why the churches of Lille and Douai and hun-

dred others, that have not even the redeeming feature and merit of art to recommend and shield them? Why do they stand untouched? Wisely this question is not asked; but it is again and again asserted with a studied display of moral indignation, capable only of deceiving children, that the Germans always make the church spires their first targets, and this is put forth as evidence of their anti-clerical instincts. The plain fact that, in the cases at issue, the firing ceased, when the steeple had been brought down (98), would convince everybody who takes the trouble to reflect, that the motive of this action was to remove objects that served military or strategic purposes. That this, and none other, was the motive is obvious from the additional circumstance, that the churches thus injured were few, and all situated along the immediate battlefront. When the tables are turned, the gentlemen quickly grasp the military necessity of such a procedure. In the church steeple of the village Petite-Fosse (Lorraine) the French suspected machine-guns, and they demolished the steeple: *'Alors, vous comprenez, les Français ne sont pas aveugles.'*[6] Under the picture of the church of St. Remy we read: *'Occupée par leurs mitrailleuses, puis bombardée par notre'* 75[7]. When some months ago the monastery of Oelenberg was destroyed, the church and its steeple were the first aim of the French fire, though neither had been used in a military way. It has not transpired whether Messieurs Baudrillart and Barrès have also noted these facts as evidences of the anti-Christian character of their own methods of warfare, and whether they intend writing books about it for the benefit of neutrals.

The unfairness of the method of the opponents shows itself glaringly in their *imputation of motives.* They dog every step and action of the Germans and put the most unfavorable construction on them. They shrink from no foul aspersion and vile insinuation. The basest motives are assigned for every deed; sometimes the motives imputed are so utterly improbable that the author himself cannot believe them, but he succeeds in discrediting the adversary. That the Library and St. Peter's Church in Louvain have (according to the French version) been completely destroyed by fire does not seem strong enough for the authors of Les Allemands destructeurs (48); they are bound to make it a case of arson, intimating that the Germans set fire to the building in order to cover up the robbery of valuable books which had been transported to Germany. Thus without warrant, they put an ugly complexion on this sad catastrophe and add features of a special moral heinousness. The authors take no pains to verify the matter; it is enough to have made the insinuation; it will do its work. They do not care to insist on this particular charge; for, in their estimation the crime is worse if everything has

[6] Colin, Les Barbares à la trouée des Vosges 14.
[7] l. c. 273.

been burnt; so they rather prefer the latter conclusion, as it will throw a greater odium on the enemy. When occupying Reims the Germans placed straw in the Cathedral for the accommodation of the wounded; this is construed to have been done in preparation of the incendiary plan long premeditated and minutely mapped out. To ensure the carrying out of this nefarious project, they are said to have destroyed the fire-engines, so that all attempts to save the Cathedral would be defeated. Mr. Colin taxes the credulity of his readers still more, when he expects them to believe that the Germans in broad daylight ignited the church of Doncières and allowed it to perish with all the German wounded whom it sheltered.[8]

In the foregoing I have collected some examples calculated to illustrate the method by which French authors try to prove the vandalism and barbarism of the German army and people. The intrinsic improbability of many of the assertions, the deliberate misstatements, exaggerations and forgeries, and the double standard in judging the same acts when performed by the French or by the German soldiers, needs must puncture and invalidate the whole thesis.

The questions which really matter and which we must face, are these: *Are ecclesiastical edifices under all conditions inviolable in war? Have such buildings, in particular the famous structures of Louvain, Dinant, Ypres, Arras, Senlis and Reims, been shelled, injured or destroyed wantonly and without military necessity? Has the Franco-English army, in marked contrast to the Germans, always, even where military necessity would counsel otherwise, spared sacred edifices?* None of these questions, even with restrictions, can be answered in the affirmative.

War has always been known as the ruthless destroyer of the works of nature and of man. Its elemental forces in their onward rush recognize no obstacles and respect no interests, except those that serve its own ends. Mankind has, at all times, resigned itself to this fact, which came to be regarded as an inevitable necessity. Many a generation, superior to ours in creative powers and artistic skill, has seen its treasures perish and its monumental works of art sink into the dust. They lamented their irreparable losses, as they deplored the passing of everything great and beautiful; but they did not indulge in such pharisaic indignation, as our enemies affect. The tears, which the Savior shed over the future destruction of the magnificent temple of Jerusalem; the lamentations, that rose up from the ruins of Carthage and Corinth and that filled the cells of Jerome and Augustin, mourning the fall of Rome, were expressions of a manly and vigorous sorrow; the note of impotent fury and

[8] Colin, l. c. 282.

conceit, that characterizes the wailing of our contemporaries was absent in them. It stands to reason that the losses in men and monuments in our own times will be incomparably greater than in former ages; that the havoc wrought will be appalling and stupendous in extent and magnitude, and that the artistic values destroyed will be beyond repair, in view of the enormous range and terrible destructiveness of our modern engines of war, the scattering power of our high explosives and the oppressive and massive bulk of our modern armies. Unfortunate the land which in our days becomes the theatre of the terrors of war! It is inconsistent and unfair, that those who helped to kindle the present world conflagration by fostering sentiments of revenge, should now revile the foe, when they taste its inevitable consequences. It almost looks, as though they expected us to use cannon balls of cotton waste in this gigantic struggle for existence. It is preposterous to imagine that an enemy should spare churches and other monuments of architecture, abused for military purposes, from an abstract regard for their artistic value. It seems that our enemies were calculating on our well-known *romantic respect for art,* when they thought themselves safe in installing military outlooks, machine guns and refractors in such vantage points. However, monuments of art and churches can only enjoy immunity in war, when their original purpose and use are exclusively and conscientiously observed. The moment they are used for military ends, they forfeit their specific character and, consequently, their immunity; they become bulwarks, and may and must be treated as such. It is an idle question whether a masterpiece like the Cathedral of Reims does not outweigh whole generations of men, or whether the child of the humblest laborer is not immeasurably more valuable than the most exalted piece of art. Only an academic interest attaches to this alternative, in practice regard for human life always prevails over all aesthetic scruples. Whenever the responsibility for the lives of thousands rests in the hand of one man, and when any measure may determine the outcome of the war, and hence, involve the destiny of millions, all other considerations pale and are overruled. When sacred edifices serve as places of ambush for the enemy or are used to mask military operations, they may claim no immunity. Military authorities, if they are allowed to express their convictions, have no hesitations on this point. At the time of the wildest Reims-agitation, an officer of the English artillery, who had the courage to speak his mind, wrote in the 'Times': The bombardment of church steeples and other towering edifices is inevitable, and it is absurd to complain of the destruction of tall buildings, whether they be city halls, churches or factories. We fire on them, just as the Germans. Officers of both parties use them as posts of observation. At present it is thus in

France; later the same thing may happen to the Dome of Cologne. It would be wiser to stop these loud lamentations lest, in the later event, we be regarded as hypocrites.'[9] The matter speaks for itself, so that a formal pronouncement on it seems almost superfluous. The Hague Convention, however, has ruled: 'While besieging and bombarding a city care shall be exercised to spare the buildings dedicated to worship, art, science and charity, the historic monuments, the hospitals and the places where the sick and wounded are sheltered, *as much as possible, provided that they are not simultaneously used for military ends.* It is the duty of the besieged to mark these buildings and places with appropriate signs and to make them known to the beleaguerers.' (Regulations of Warfare on Land, Oct. 18, 1907. § 27). There exists an international sanction for the general principle, that the military use of ecclesiastical, artistic or charitable buildings deprives them of their immunity. *The preservation of such buildings, consequently, depends much more on the attitude of the besieged than of the besiegers.* The former have it in their power to safeguard or imperil them, in as much as it rests with them to keep these monuments out of military operations or to involve them therein. Without a direct bombardment it may happen that a church comes to grief, if it is situated in close proximity to a strategic point subjected to a severe cannonade. If, however, a monument must be taken under direct fire, the responsibility for this falls on him, who diverted it from its original purpose and abused it for military ends. The indignation of our enemies and of the neutral nations, in the case of Louvain and Reims, obviously, was directed to the wrong address. Their remonstrances should have been addressed to the generals of the enemy; their protests should have been raised at the time, when Reims was transformed into a fortress; especially, when Reims came to lie within the battle line, and the temptation arose to use the Cathedral for military observations. It is downright hypocrisy, to use the words of the above cited English officer, and shielding of the true culprits, when one puts the destruction of Dixmude, Ypres, Arras, Reims and Louvain down to the account of German vandalism. The rich ambo in St. Nicholas at Dixmude, the majestic Cloth-hall and St. Martin's church in Ypres, the graceful belfry in Arras together with its picturesque Town Hall were doomed, the fatal moment, when the English, the Belgians and the French shifted their line of defense precisely to this historic ground, and made their last desperate stand among these sanctuaries of a glorious past. The close proximity of these monuments in a small space and the accumulation of vast armies in these little villages frustrated all attempts to save this precious inheritance of art.

9 Reprinted in the Koeln. Vlksztg., Dec. 16, 1914.

The fate of these unrivaled masterpieces of medieval architecture lay in the hands of our enemies. Alfonso Lucifero, in a letter to the 'Giornale d'Italia,' expresses the common-sense view on this matter, when he writes: 'I would have forestalled the possibility of these towns, so rich in monuments, becoming involved in war-operations, by forbidding them to erect fortifications, and thus courting participation in the war. Then we could demand that they should not be violated by an invader; no one, however, can expect, that heavy artillery be allowed to vomit forth its deadly missiles from under the protection of these masterpieces, and that the enemy be bound to spare these death dealing batteries for the sake of the beauty of the monuments.' (At the occasion of a protest by the Associazione artistica internazionale di Roma). At a convention held at Brussels, plans for the preservation of historic relics were discussed. The suggestion had been made to establish within a certain radius around such monuments a neutral zone, from which anything connected with war was to be kept away. No final resolution was adopted, as none of the measures advocated seemed adequate and feasible. Besides, the above quoted paragraph of the Hague Convention was deemed sufficient to provide all possible guarantees for the buildings in question. And, indeed, if that rule is complied with, they are out of danger and their conservation is ensured; if, however, the possessor of such treasures feels that he cannot fulfill the condition which affords them safety, and sees fit to draw them into his military plans, no international agreements can avail anything. The possessor, therefore, assumes full and unique responsibility for the fate of historical monuments; not the enemy, who has no desire to waste valuable ammunition on their destruction and who does not combat inoffensive church steeples, but who may be compelled to frustrate the hostile intentions they have been made to serve against their original purpose.

From this discussion it may be inferred, that absolute safety of architectural masterpieces is inconceivable in war. A relative security is all we can attain to. The latter depends wholly on those who are in possession of these monuments, and who may use them for military ends or who may forego such use; by their actions the attitude of the enemy will be determined. When the local general, who is more familiar with the country than the invader, keeps military operations away from the neighborhood of rare creations of art, they are safe and will not be exposed to injury. This at times may not be expedient, and then the blind furies of war will have their prey. The fact, that the French and the Belgians bombard and wreck their own monuments throws a fierce light on the tragic character of war; it proves also how futile and im-

potent all well-meant measures and arrangements are in the face of the irresistible force of circumstances.

The *question of right* may be regarded as settled. But where the abstract right cannot be disputed, our adversaries quibble on *questions of fact*. They deny categorically that the monuments, injured or destroyed by our soldiers, were at any time used for military ends. Our troops are accused of having laid waste everything, like genuine barbarians without the shadow of a military necessity. This charge falls to the ground by asserting too much; as has been shown above, by an elaborate and detailed enumeration of important edifices that lay along the route of the German army, yet suffered no harm, sheer vandalism does not explain the facts. But, if buildings have only been destroyed in isolated instances, not in pursuance of a general policy, there must have been some special reason for it. Unobjectionable evidence is not yet accessible in every case; but we will follow our accusers to the scenes of destruction and endeavor to get a fair estimate of the facts. It goes without saying that we cannot investigate every single case. The final verdict, in the main, will not be affected, if we limit our inquiry to the more important cases as those of Louvain, Malines, Lier, Ypres, Reims and Soissons, especially since these have furnished the pretext of the whole agitation against us.

According to Baudrillart a great number of the churches in the dioceses of Verdun, Nancy and St. Dié, and in those parts of French Lorraine occupied by the Germans or situated along the firing line, has been severely injured or wrecked by the Germans (93f). If we turn to the book of Mr. Colin, who is not inclined to mince matters when the 'boches' are concerned, we learn that, in this same district, the churches of Croix-aux-Mines, Bru, St. Léonard, St. Dié, Coinches, Gérardmer, Provenchères, Entre-Deux-Eaux, Saulcy, Teintrux, Roville-aux-Chênes have suffered no harm, and that those of Bourgonce, Etival, Rambervillers, Fraize and Plainfaing have sustained only slight and immaterial injuries.

To appreciate this fact at its proper value, it must be borne in mind that most of these buildings saw fierce battles raging in their very shadow during the months of August and September, 1914. Mr. Colin seems almost to regret the good fortune which saved them, for it deprives him of so many opportunities of inveighing against German vandalism.[10] In the same territory the churches of *Petite-Fosse, Wissembach, Bertrimoutier, Raon-l'Etappe, Mandray, Nompatelize, St. Remy, Doncières, Menil-sur-Belvitte, Ste. Barbe, St. Bénoit, St. Pierremont* and *Clézentaine* have either been *totally destroyed or gravely dam-*

10 Les Barbares à la trouée des Vosges 13, 20, elle a été respectée même pendant l'invasion, 54 l'église fut épargnée, je ne sais comment, 56.

aged. Two of these, that of Petite-Fosse and that of St. Remy have been wrecked by the French, as the report states with a degree of satisfaction, because they suspected that German machine guns had been installed in their steeples. When the churches of Raon-l'Etappe and Mandray were levelled to the ground by the Germans for a similar reason, namely because they had been used as the basis for treacherous attacks on the troops quartered in the village, this was pooh-poohed as the subterfuge of drunken soldiers. The church of Nompatelize was long exposed to the French fire; those of Wissembach, Bertrimoutier and St. Pierremont underwent a double fire, of the French and the Germans, and thus received their fatal injuries. If we survey the facts in this judicious way and consider the total number of churches destroyed in proportion to those uninjured, and take into account the perilous hazards to which the proximity of fierce battles exposed them, it remains a mystery to us, how Veuillot expects to make good his charge of *'incendiary fury' and 'complete and extensive devastation'* (93).

On the actual condition of churches of more or less artistic pretensions in Belgium and Northern France, Dr. P. Clemen has made an official report, based on ocular inspection of the whole territory concerned.[11] Dr. v. Falke has made a similar report on the movable objects of art.[12] These thorough reports and my own personal inspection of the Belgian monuments under consideration enable me to apprize at their real value the gruesome stories and lurid descriptions of "La Guerre allemande" and "Les Allemands destructeurs."

'The same picture of desolation, destruction and uniform, dreary waste' is said to confront the eye in Belgium as in Northern France (94). In spite of this general assertion, it is a fact that all the churches of *Liège* are intact, with the exception of the Cathedral, a window of which was immaterially damaged by a fragment of an exploding grenade. The vast treasures of the various churches of Liège have suffered no deterioration and are still to be seen in their proper places or in the museums of the city. Neither have the churches of *Huy* suffered in any way; the art treasures, as in *Namur, Nivelles* and *Tournai,* have been safely stored. The handsome gothic church of *Visé* near Liège has perished except for the walls. But here franctireurs brought about a bloody encounter with regular troops, which proved disastrous to the buildings that skirted the scene of the obstinate struggle. The churches of *Namur* are unharmed. *Dinant* fared worse. A part of the city caught fire, as an accidental effect of a nearby bombardment, going on between the French and the Germans; another part was razed, because

[11] Zentralblatt der Bauverwaltung 1914, Nr. 91, 92; Kunstchronik N. F. XXVI, Nr. 10; Nordd. Allg. Ztg. 1915, Nr. 165; A digest in pamphlets 132 and 146 of the Dürerbund.
[12] Nordd. Allg. Ztg., Sept. 26, 1914; Frankf. Ztg. Nr. 278, Oct. 7, 1914.

it constituted a stronghold of snipers who from there made systematic and furious attacks on our troops, besides committing unspeakable cruelties on the helpless and the wounded. The justice of the retaliatory treatment, meted out by the Germans, can no longer be challenged, after the facts bearing on the incident have been ascertained by sworn statements of eye-witnesses and participants.[13] As several of these eye-witnesses testified that shots had also been fired from the steeple of the Cathedral, this with the condemned section of the city was cannonaded the 23 of August. Here we have another occasion to pin down one of Veuillot's gross exaggerations. He claims that of the whole edifice nothing remains but 'four dreary walls begrimed with smoke and bespattered with gore'; whereas, owing to the solid construction of the vault, the interior of the church has not been affected much, neither by the cannonade nor by the subsequent fire; in fact, shortly after it was again used for purposes of worship. The vault of the lower story of the steeple and that of the abutting southern side chapel have been crippled by the falling bells, and the organ in the transept caught fire from the burning sacristy. Almost at the same time as in Dinant, a treacherous attack of snipers and citizens brought a severe chastisement on part of the city and population of *Aerschot,* which lay on another branch of the march route of our troops. In the main, the church came unscathed out of the ordeal, but the chapel to the north of the steeple and the tambours on the north and west façades were destroyed by fire. The affidavits of eye-witnesses and of those who quelled the riot establish beyond cavil the premeditated character of the murderous plot, to which among others the military commander of the city fell a victim, and the conspiracy of the civilian population, especially of the family of the burgomaster. The participation of the mayor and his family, in whose residence the commander had been assassinated was clearly proved by an immediate search of the premises. The cellar, from which shots had been fired, had to be broken open by force, the family claiming to have mislaid the key; near the window, opening on the street, devices for firing on passers-by were found.[14]

If we prescind from Louvain, the sad, but self-induced fate of which we will discuss later and at length, most of the injuries inflicted on churches have been caused by the hotly contested battles fought for the possession of Antwerp. The book of the French Catholics cites the churches of St. Romualdus in *Malines* and the church of Our Lady in *Dendermonde* as proofs of fanatic vandalism on the part of the German troops. Both cities border on the last line of defenses that en-

13 Memorandum of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs concerning the illegality of the Belgian guerrilla warfare, Appendix C, 117-229.

14 Memorandum, Appendix A, 91-113; Belgian conspiracy in Aerschot on the 19. and 20. of August 1914.

circle the fortress of the Scheldt. During the fluctuating battle they passed from one army to the other. When finally occupied by our troops, they were subjected to a terrific fire from Fort Waelhem. Dendermonde was shelled not less than nine times in turns by both parties; the nature of the injuries and the tracks left by the projectiles show plainly that the blame for the destruction, if under such uncontrollable circumstances there can be any question of responsibility, must be evenly divided between the two fighting parties. The characteristic traces of the scattering shrapnel, visible on the helmet of the high steeple, indicate that the shooting was intended to scare away the observing and signaling sentries. But the ruin even here is not complete, such as would satisfy the destructive fury of vandals, if there had been any except in the over-wrought imagination of the author. The injuries are casual; on the north side of the nave the tracery of a window and on the south side a tester have been shattered. The damages suffered by the Cathedral of *Malines* proceed from the same cause; they are of a like description as those just mentioned, but have been greatly exaggerated for sensational purposes. The extent and magnitude of the injuries are due to the vicissitudes of the conflict, which ebbed and flowed within its purlieus. The city was captured by our troops; then relinquished; again reconquered by heavy fighting, and after the final occupation made to undergo a furious cannonade by the combined English and Belgian artillery. The north and south sides show severe hurts, none, however, that could not speedily be repaired. The masonry of the south side has been pierced in two places, in one case entailing the destruction of the tracery of a window, in the other the mutilation of a cornice; besides, a grenade struck the buttress of a rear arch, tearing away the mullions and the tracery of a window. In the southern window of the transept the mullions also have been shattered. The stained windows, dating from the 19. century, have been shivered by the pressure of the explosions. The steeple bears numerous scars, due to the spreading fragments of bursting grenades. None of the injuries are of an extent to jeopardize the structural integrity of the building or to cause an irreparable esthetic loss. Without much delay and labor the interior was remoulded and equipped for religious services. Of the other churches in Malines only that of Our Lady has been scarred; shells of foe and friend have damaged the north and south side, a buttress and the trelliswork. The famous paintings of Rubens, formerly in St. John's, were taken to Antwerp. Of the many notable profane buildings, which abound in Malines, most have escaped harm; a beautiful mansion near the marketplace, once the residence of a canon and a rare specimen of the barocque style, has been completely destroyed, and a palace,

dating from the Renaissance period, has suffered severely by fire. A furious contest for the possession of the adjacent fort raged around *Lier;* as in other cities of the lowland its towering gothic church presented tempting facilities for reconnoitring, which to prevent it was alternately exposed to the fire of friend and foe. The nave has suffered but little; on the north surface, which lay open to the Belgian fire two buttresses were wrecked; the cupola of the tower and the balustrade of the octagonal clear story shows the effects of some telling shots. The interior is in good condition, except for the windows which have suffered from the violent vibrations of nearby explosions. Fortunately the magnificent ambon is intact, as well as the valuable antique windows of the apse. A little romanesque chapel, dedicated to St. Peter, in the neighborhood, has sustained heavy injuries from the Belgian fire. The city hall remained uninjured; but St. James church, not far from it, perished in a conflagration, accidentally caused by a shell. Roof, high altar and organ of the Jesuit church also became a prey of the flames.

The late-gothic church of St. Martin in *Aalst* came to grief in an encounter with snipers; but, its injuries, consisting in superficial scars from shrapnel and in a somewhat severer hurt of the apse from a grenade, can be easily mended. The church of *Grimberghen,* near Brussels, caught fire during a violent artillery-duel; four paintings of the old Brussels school of the early 16. century were consumed by the flames. The chapel in *Eppeghem* shared the same fate, but its valuable altarpieces were saved by a German officer. In like manner an early painting of van Dyck was taken from the church at *Saventhem* and safely stored in the museum in Brussels. To most of the churches, that suffered during the violent engagements fought in the vicinity of Antwerp, their towers became fatal. In a level country, screened by extended forests, every available elevation would eagerly be sought and utilized for purposes of reconnoitring, especially where the issue of the conflict was of far-reaching importance. That the French report passes over this fact in utter silence bespeaks the hypocritical dishonesty of its whole trend, its malevolent purpose and its desire to mislead the judgment of the reader. The same dishonest policy makes the authors suppress a circumstance which would give a different complexion to all these facts, namely that the Belgians and their allies had a part in the injuries inflicted on Cardinal Mercier's cathedral and the churches of Dendermonde and Lier. The Belgians and their allies bear the full responsibility for the bombardment of the Ursuline Convent in *Thildonk,* and for the complete destruction of the monastery and church in *Wavre-Notre-Dame,* near Antwerp, for which no strategic reason can

be assigned, since the German general studiously refrained from using the tower as an observation post.[15]

In West Flanders the work of destruction was much more thorough than around Antwerp. Over the latter territory it swept with the rapidity of a hurricane; in the former it ground everything into atoms with the relentlessness of the mills of fate, during the months of protracted and embittered fighting around *Ypres.* If the responsibility for the wreckage around be placed anywhere, it must be saddled on those who deliberately entrenched themselves in this district so rich in treasures of art. If small towns, abundant in works of art, are fortified and made military strongholds, we need not be surprised that after months of a lively exchange of artillery fire only ruins remain. It just falls short of the miraculous, that Ghent and Bruges have not participated in their sad fate. The English may have reluctantly yielded that line of defense; respect for the historic character and artistic value of these unique landmarks has nothing to do with it; this is obvious from the fact that their aeroplanes continue to drop bombs on these venerable cities.

From views taken by flyers and from the reports of our enemies, we judge, that the heart of *Ypres,* embracing the stately Guild Hall with its belfry, the Town Hall in Renaissance architecture and the imposing gothic church, sacred to St. Martin, has been laid waste. Of the Guild Hall, once the pride of the city and a relic of its glorious past, nothing remains but the outer walls and the stump of the belfry. The Town Hall has been reduced to a heap of rubbish. St. Martin's church has lost the roof and the helmet of the steeple; the masonry, also, has been severely damaged.[16] What has become of the interior equipment could not be ascertained. If our guns, under the stress of necessity, brought destruction to Ypres, the complete devastation of *Dixmude* is, in the main, the work of the English and the Belgians. In this village great losses are to be deplored: the graceful Town Hall, the gothic church of St. Nicholas with its wonderful ambon, unequalled in Flanders, the Béguinage, and numerous quaint mansions are irretrievably lost. These things Veuillot, so anxious to unearth abominations, does not see fit to mention. To prove the sweeping statement that the Germans 'destroyed well-nigh every church along their route in Belgium,' he pictures in the Album (7, 8) the ruins of the churches of *Pervyse* (only the outer walls and the arches of the nave remaining), of *Caeskerk, Ramscapelle* (masonry and gable preserved) and of *Nieuport* (steeple reduced to a level with roof). As a supplement we would suggest the

[15] Koeln. Vztg. Nr. 631, Aug. 5, 1915: Affidavit of the commander-in-chief; Nr. 597, July, 25 and Nr. 641, Aug. 8, 1915.
[16] Pagine d' Arte, Milan III, 1915, 42; Barzini, Corr. della Sera, Dec. 14, 1914.

very instructive views of the churches of *Messines, Witschaete, Holebeke, Becelaere, Paschendael, Essenghem, Poelcapelle, Langhemarcq, Eessene, Leke on the Yser, Vladesloo, Westbooseke, Warneton, Zandvoorde* and of the coast towns *Middelkerke, Westende* and others which have been converted into heaps of rubbish by the Belgians and the English.

Turning to Northern France we find that *Lille,* though subjected to a lively bombardment, was rather fortunate with respect to its ecclesiastical buildings. The main church, dedicated to St. Maurice, shows immaterial scars on its western gable. The Museum experienced rougher usage; but only some few of its numerous paintings, and those of little artistic value, perished, as they could not be removed in time from the menaced building. *Arras,* the chief stronghold of our enemies in the battles raging in this neighborhood for over a year, has fared much worse. In view of the strategic importance it has for our enemies, it would be absurd to claim for it the immunity of an unfortified city or to try to make us believe that 'at the time of the first bombardment (Oct. 6, 1914) not a single soldier was to be found within its walls.' Points of such eminence as the belfry and the steeple of the Cathedral, would be in imminent danger from the moment that two powerful armies clashed near the city and became locked in a prolonged and desperate struggle. The inevitable happened. The belfry and the Town Hall sustained severe hurts; the Cathedral fared no better; the apse of St. Géry shows gaping holes in its vaults, and the steeple of St. Jean-Baptiste was laid low (93). In *Armentières,* likewise, the belfry disappeared. Our guns inflicted more or less injury on the churches of *Houplines* and *Laventie,* while those of *Cuinchy, Givenchy* and *Roclincourt* were practically destroyed. That the churches of *La Bassée* and *Auchy* were totally demolished is wisely omitted by the French authors, because this petty 'piece of barbarism' was accomplished by the French and their English friends. In vain, also, do we look for a word of blame for the destruction of St. Peter's church in *Roye* with its valuable, irreparable stained windows. The reason is quite evident. By the same token no mention is made of the fact, that the churches of *Douai, Cambrai, Lille, Valenciennes, Mézières, Mouzon, St. Quentin, Rethel,* (in the midst of surrounding ruins), *Vigneulles,* the Cathedrals of *Laon* and *Noyon* and the famous shrines of *Avioth, Liesse* and *Mont* near Stenay, in addition to a great number of humbler buildings were preserved through the special care and consideration of the German troops. But vehement abuse is lavished on us because of the bombardment of the Cathedrals of *Soissons* and *Senlis.* An honest inquiry, however, would have revealed the facts which made this action a measure of sheer self defense. In the latter city civilians fired on our troops; some of the

snipers had stationed themselves in the tower of the Cathedral. At first a severer retribution for this perfidious treachery had been contemplated, consisting in a complete destruction of the traitorous city. This judgment was mitigated, and only the heads of the conspiracy were punished, the tower of the Cathedral shelled and the street, in which the main shooting had occurred, levelled. In view of this serious provocation, the slanderous assertion of the author of Les Allemands destructeurs: 'Senlis was delivered into the hands of a band of brigands,' is unjustified and entirely uncalled-for. The data, taken from the Report of the Committee on Historical Monuments of the 29. Sept., give evidence that the injuries of the Cathedral, which alone concern us, are altogether trivial. We note this with a feeling of special gratification, since the building is of great architectural importance.

Ever since the battle of the Marne, *Soissons* was one of the chief footholds of the French line of defense. That it would become involved in heavy firing, and that in this event its architectural monuments would very likely suffer in some way, was a matter of course. So it came to pass. A bombardment of the Cathedral and of the abbey church of St. Jean des Vignes took place Sept. 13, 1914; it was repeated in the night of 24, 25 of the same month and again in the middle of January, 1915, and since then at various intervals. The arch-priest of the Cathedral denies that 'at any time a cannon or machine gun or a soldier was stationed in the steeple or on the premises, or that a heavy battery was installed on its grounds while a soldier was using the tower as an observation post.' (127.) The German army command, however, is in possession of documents which leave no doubt that the tower of the Cathedral and the towers of St. Jean des Vignes were used persistently for purposes of observation and for giving light signals during the night.[17] Concerning the condition of both edifices we have the authentic reports of Clemen[18] and of the chairman of the French office for the conservation of monuments, Mr. Boeswillwald. Whereas St. Jean des Vignes has escaped with unsubstantial injuries, affecting only the ornamental, but no wise the structural parts, the Cathedral has been dealt with more severely, yet not so that its architectural existence is in any way threatened. The exterior is marred on the west, north and east side; the roof resembles a sieve, but the vaulted ceiling is only perforated in one place, in consequence of which a transverse arch collapsed. A chapel abutting the north side presents a caved-in ceiling and shattered windows; a flying buttress of the apse has been torn away and others along the nave have been damaged. The main façade shows disfigurement by

17 Clemen, Der Schutz der Denkmäler im Kriege 132.
18 l. c. 16.

several shots, the parapet over the portals and the balustrade above the rose being sorely hurt. The steeple, which was the chief target of the cannonade, has been deprived of its balustrade on the north side. The most fatal blow was dealt by a French projectile, the range of which had been miscalculated and which struck the south of the building with disastrous effect. It carried away a pillar of the aisle with part of the masonry, so that it is very surprising that the whole vault was not disjointed. The Album (A 18) does not hesitate to attribute the destruction to a German bombardment; it does so on general principles; of course, such an unsightly pile of rubbish in the interior of the superb edifice, in spite of all evidence to the contrary, must be the work of 'Prussian militarism.'

In *Albert* the spire of the church of Notre Dame has sustained injuries; three gaping holes indicate that the Germans intended to scare away the military outlook stationed there. But the French Album (16) knows the intentions of the German army command better. Arguing from the frivolous remarks of some fanatic German reporter, it credits the German army command with the malicious design of effacing this 'Lourdes of Northern France.'

Along the furiously contested front in the districts of Artois, the Marne, the Champagne and Lorraine, the following churches are mentioned as having received injuries of various kinds and degrees: those of *Hébuterne, Vieille-Chapelle, Etavigny, Sermaize, Barcy, Revigny, Foncquevillers, Serres, Souain, Suippes, Montceau, Berry-au-Bac, Maurupt,* and in the diocese of Verdun, those of *Angécourt, Laheycourt, Wassincourt* and *Rambercourt.* As usual, nothing is said about the destruction which the French have caused among their own churches in the same territory. That the abbey of *Ourscamp* was reduced to ruins, that the churches of *Brimont* and *Bourgogne* were ignited by the enemy's grenades, that the churches of *Chivres, Missy, Laperrière* and *Vregny* near Soissons were completely wrecked, and those of *Etain* and *Hattonchâtel* almost annihilated, that those of *Rouvres, Thiaucourt* and *St. Mihiel* were severely damaged by French artillery—this Mr. Veuillot and the author of 'Les Allemands destructeurs' do not think it expedient to mention. Only once do we come across the following passage: *Parfois les allemands ont établi dans nos clochers leur mitrailleuses, auxquelles notre artillerie a dû riposter, ajoutant quelques nouvelles ruines aux ruines innombrables faites par les canons allemands. L'armée allemande est responsable des unes et des autres.* (Sometimes the Germans placed machine guns in our church steeples, from which our artillery had to dislodge them, adding some new ruins to the countless ones created by the German guns. The German army is responsible for either. A 17.)

This is a rather curious piece of logic and a fine bit of hypocrisy. It amounts to this: only Frenchmen have the right of placing military instruments for defense or attack on church steeples and of destroying them if they have been installed there by others; the German 'Barbarian' has no right either way, but in all cases he must shoulder the blame. It is useless to discuss such a point of view.

Now for *Louvain* and *Reims!* For these two cities have been quoted as typical cases of German vandalism and have served as the chief stock-in-trade of the whole campaign of slander against us. With the fall of Louvain the prelude began, which went on crescendo till it reached a frenzied fortissimo after the events in Reims. In the case of Louvain the Belgian Commission of Investigation proceeded with a haste and used means which make its findings extremely doubtful. Its data were gathered in an atmosphere surcharged with excitement, and the Report was finished at a time when a calm survey of the happenings was as yet impossible. Anything incriminating the enemy was accepted as fact, irrespective of the trustworthiness of the witnesses; anything which exonerated the Germans was ruled out of court and set down as false. Depositions were made by men who had not yet recovered from the shock of the events and whose imagination labored under the strain of a fearful excitement. The first Official Report is dated August 31, leaving no time for a revision and critical sifting of the evidence. Whether the 'neutral' Professor, Mr. Grondijs of Dordrecht, helped in compiling this sensational material or whether he afterwards borrowed from the Report various items to season his own diaries, need not be ascertained. At all events, these diaries betray a narrow prejudice and a bitter animosity against the German army; they contain all the unfounded accusations and extravagant allegations, of which the 'Legend of Louvain' is made up, and abound in gratuitous insinuations and vile aspersions. His eyes are so constituted that he can see nothing but 'drunken,' 'looting' and 'churlish' soldiers; he scents brutal excesses everywhere and peevishly complains that he is interrupted in this important activity by repeated revisions of his passport. These strained narratives, stretched to the very limits of the possible, bear on the face of them the marks of untruthfulness and insincerity. Mr. Grondijs' wild stories are offset by the plain and pertinent statements of Monsignor Coenraets, Vice-rector of the University, who on the fatal night of the 25 of August was led through the streets as hostage and had every opportunity to make first-hand observations.[19]

[19] The necessary data to judge the case on its own merits may be found in the following publications: Memorandum of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Appendix D., containing sworn affidavits of more than a hundred eye-witnesses and participants.—The Official Belgian Reports.—Depositions of eye-witnesses in the Koeln. Vlztg., Aug. 29; Sept. 5; Depositions of Msgr. Coenraets, Frankf. Ztg. Sept. 5.—Hostile in tone and terror is the version given by

What has actually occurred in Louvain? On the 19. of August our troops entered the city, received by the population with an outward semblance of friendliness. The relations between the troops and the citizens to all appearances remained quite cordial until August 25, when a sudden change took place. On this day the Belgians made a sally from Antwerp. The greater part of our garrison stationed in Louvain went forth to check the Belgian advance. Only a few ammunition and transport columns and several small detachments of German troops remained in the city. A Landsturm company took up a position at the northwest exit of the city, on the road to Antwerp, ready to reinforce our troops and to take part in the encounter, if necessary. Towards evening, after the Belgians had been forced back on Antwerp, our reserves returned slowly through the city to their quarters on the square in front of the railway station. Minor detachments of troops were dispersed throughout various parts of the city.

At eight o'clock, shortly after the Landsturm company had arrived in its camp on the station square, sky-rockets were sent up and fire was opened on our troops in various parts of the city, principally in the main street leading to the station. Many of our men were wounded and some killed.

Our men quickly recovered from their surprise, rallied and answered the fire. They penetrated into the houses from which shots had been fired, made a search for the culprits and captured some with arms in hand. These were courtmartialed, convicted of illegitimate participation in the fight and executed, according to the customs of war. The houses, in which they had been found, were burned down. The shooting continued during the night with occasional prolonged lulls; at daybreak it set in with renewed vigor and was kept up during the day. Energetic and effective countermeasures had to be adopted. To prevent a repetition of the offense, that part of the city, where the shooting had been most obstinate, was bombarded, after it had been cleared of its population. Thus events culminated in the afternoon of the 27 of August. This is the whole story in its general outline.

The German and Belgian versions differ on two points: the *cause* of the encounter (*guilt* or *innocence* of the civil population), and the *extent* of the destruction occasioned by the burning of the houses. If we listen to the Belgian interpretation, the population of Louvain is blameless in the matter, and the conflict was brought on by the arrogant conduct of the German soldiers, who assaulted and insulted peaceable civilians,

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Grondijs, Les Allemands en Belgique; La Guerre allemande; Les Allemands destructeurs.—A legal study of the incident has been made by Prof. Dr. C. Meurer, Der Volkskrieg und das Strafgericht in Loewen, published in "Deutschland und der Weltkrieg," Breslau, 1914.—A neutral and very clear presentation is given by Dr. K. Hildebrand, Member of the Swedish Parliament, in his book: Ein starkes Volk, Berlin 1915.

requisitioned whatever they fancied, looted houses and removed the plunder in numerous wagons and trucks.[20]. "Ostensibly the soldiers vexed and provoked the citizens in order to precipitate a quarrel and thus to create a pretext for reprisals."[21] This version is contradicted by Msgr. Coenraets, who, being one of the hostages, gained thorough insight into the circumstances. He testifies "that strict discipline was maintained and that the behavior of the German troops was beyond reproach. What they needed, they purchased and paid for. Where an officer was present, exemplary order prevailed. In the private homes, in which they were quartered, they conducted themselves properly. Everywhere one was impressed with their courteous bearing."[22] A strict investigation has revealed no excesses or outrages committed by German soldiers. The removal of booty on auto-trucks and by military conveyances is a pure invention, fabricated out of whole cloth.[23] It bears on its face the hall-mark of pure fiction. In fact, it is altogether unlikely that, during those days of rapid advance, when all means of transportation were in great demand, the military authorities should have placed at the disposal of individuals facilities for the expedition of private consignments. The army administration has explicitly denied the use of military vehicles for such a purpose as the fifth Belgian Report had maliciously insinuated.

The Belgian view attributes the firing on the evening of the 25. of August to "a fatal blunder," which terminated in a general panic. The German troops having been routed retreated in disorderly flight to the city, where they were mistaken by their comrades for Belgians and fired upon; they, in turn falling into the same mistake, returned the fire. Another version will have it that the riot was started by drunken soldiers, who amused (?) themselves by shooting at one another;[24] still another tells us, that the fate of Louvain was intended to intimidate and cow Brussels and the other Belgian cities into submission.[25] However this may be, the population is to be absolved from all guilt, the more so, as they had been exhorted from the pulpits to keep the peace, and in addition to that, had been compelled to surrender all arms the 19. of August. "After the first shots Louvain was at the mercy of a lot of savages."[26] The houses were shelled till about 10 o'clock at night and then set on fire; the streets and squares were strewn with the corpses of slain citizens; in the ruins the charred remains of many others could be seen.

This explanation of the incident is rejected by Msgr. Coenraets, and

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20 The "Telegraaf," a Dutch newspaper sympathizing with the Allies, mentions among the plunder the books of the University.
21 The Belgian Report; Grondijs, Les Allemands en Belgique 29 seq.; Les Allemands destructeurs 45 seq.
22 "Köln. Vlztg." 1914, Nr. 786.
23 Denkschrift, 287.
24 Les Allemands destructeurs 46.
25 Grondijs, l. c. 79.
26 Les Allemands destructeurs 47.

the gruesome picture is very much overdrawn. "There can be no doubt," says Msgr. Coenraets, "that firing on German soldiers was going on to a considerable extent. *C'était une fusillade bien nourrie.* German shots can be easily told from the Belgian by the report. What I heard for at least five minutes, was not German shooting."[27] Even when he was led through the streets with other hostages to admonish the population to desist from hostilities, the firing from the houses did not cease. If any one stubbornly refuses to accept this unimpeachable testimony, and, in spite of it, will not admit the criminal provocation on the part of the civilians, we submit the further evidence of eye-witnesses. We have the following depositions made on oath: Many of the wounds examined were caused by small shot; many of the head wounds had been inflicted by firing from an elevated place; these facts are vouched for by the attending physicians and other officials of the sanitary service (Memorandum 250-297); in a number of cases civilians with revolvers and other fire-arms were discovered in houses from which shots had been fired (l. c. 250, 270, 306, 317, 321). In the burning houses large quantities of cartridges and ammunition were heard to explode (l. c. 240, 246, 253). These well-attested facts do away with the fiction that German soldiers by mistake fired on their own comrades. But, granted that the shooting had originated in an error, it could not have been continued for two days and in broad daylight. We are now in position to judge where the responsibility for the riot must be placed.

The uprising in Louvain synchronizes with the sortie from Antwerp. The boom of the cannons may have aroused in the population the hope of deliverance, which was strengthened by the return of the reserves to their position, the latter being misconstrued as an indication of a Belgian victory. The regiment had hardly resumed its former stand when the rockets flew up and gave the apparently pre-concerted signal for the beginning of the attack. Among the civilians captured with arms in hand, several were found to possess identification coins, which marked them as Belgian soldiers in disguise. Many others were recognized as young men, not residents of Louvain, who had come to the city in the course of the afternoon, apparently dispatched to take part in the pre-arranged sedition. These facts let it appear that the revolt did not start on the spur of the moment—for this the resistance lasted too long and was too well managed,—but was contemplated in connection with the sortie from Antwerp and, in general, *the result of careful planning.* The participants in the treacherous action were franctireurs and soldiers transformed into civilians; the leadership seems to have been in the hands of the Garde-Civique. The conspirators were readily sheltered and

27 Köln. Vlztg. 1914, Nr. 786.

concealed by the population of the city and given every assistance in the carrying-out of their designs; devices to rest the guns while aiming were found attached to cellar and attic windows and the blinds of the front windows. Whether the Belgian army-command and government had a direct part in the uprising could not be ascertained. On the one hand it is true that the Belgian Ministry instructed the civilian population to refrain from any participation in the fighting (August 8); on the other hand the coincidence of the riots in Dinant, Aerschot and Louvain with the sortie from Antwerp and the arrival of a great number of young men previous to the outbreak of the sedition, are suggestive of concerted action and of authoritative management from higher quarters. Unfortunately a number of clerics were misled into abetting, and conniving at, the conspiracy. But whatever may have been the part of official circles and misguided clerics in the uprising, the culpability of the population is not thereby affected or mitigated; but stands clearly demonstrated. In the face of the evidence furnished by Msgr. Coenraets' declarations and many other sworn affidavits the last doubt of the guilt of the population vanishes. But if the fact of illegal participation in the war is established, the justice of the retaliatory measures cannot be questioned. The participants and abettors of the uprising have offended against the regulations of the Hague Convention (1907 Warfare on Land, Art. 1 and 2); they have become treacherous murderers or their accomplices. In war such crimes call for swift and severe retribution and are punished by forfeiture of life and property. The extent and the dangerous character of the conspiracy brought it about that also innocent victims became involved in the catastrophe. The stubbornness and doggedness of the sedition may be gauged by the fact, that even at the time when the hostages threatened severe punitive measures, the rioters persisted in their criminal course; in their rage they fired on physicians, members of the sanitary corps, nurses and ambulances; they made their attacks from houses flying the Red Cross flag and mutilated and maltreated the wounded (l. c. 293, 300).

In view of these flagrant violations of international law we need not be surprised that severe retaliatory measures were adopted against the culprits and the houses that afforded them shelter. On the first evening the confusion which was increased by the darkness may have demanded some innocent victims. The spreading of the fire to other houses, against which there was no suspicion, could not always be prevented on account of a strong wind. Extreme measures, however, were never resorted to except where the authorities could satisfy themselves that they were just and well deserved.

The Belgian government stands convicted of the grave charge of

having deliberately misled the public as to the *extent of the catastrophe* at a time when the truth could be easily ascertained. The first Official Belgian Report spread the false tale that "the whole city with the exception of the Town Hall and the station had been destroyed;" even the fifth Report repeats an untrue account of the execution of Msgr. Coenraets and Father Schmidt, both being alive. Such is its disregard of truth that it adds by way of effective embellishment to this execution, which never took place, the aggravating detail that the unwilling spectators were compelled to applaud. Misrepresentations of this kind, where facts could readily be verified, show the levity with which these Reports were compiled. This ought to be enough to discredit them entirely in the eyes of every truthloving man. Mr. Grondijs, the "neutral" eyewitness, has after the same fashion presented facts in such a way that creates the impression of the total destruction of St. Peter's Church (56). To him also, the allegation that the Germans deliberately set fire to the University Library and the church must be traced. He makes no attempt to prove the incendiary origin of the conflagration that destroyed the Library; it is much more convenient to take it for granted. The incendiarism of the church he tries to establish on flimsy a priori grounds, claiming that no fire could have penetrated the thick walls of the building and that at the time when the turret was on fire the surrounding houses were still intact (54). But he admits that the houses in the vicinity of the Town Hall, separated from the church only by the width of a narrow street, were in flames and that a strong current of air swept in that direction (52, 55). This ingenious theory is destroyed by the direct testimony of eye-witnesses to the effect that the turret caught fire from the adjacent buildings; the efforts of an officer to put out the flames by means of a fire-extinguisher proved futile. The insinuation that the Germans "intentionally" set fire to the church collapses in the light of the facts and appears as a base calumny. But it was sufficient for the authors of "La Guerre Allemande" and "Les Allemands destructeurs" to build on it the general charge of destructive mania.[28] This "neutral" Professor may thus lay claim to the doubtful honor of having given rise to one of the most monstrous calumnies that were ever set on foot against an entire people.

The official investigation makes it clear, that all told not a sixth part of the city was destroyed; the short street leading to the station and the parts abutting the Town Hall; of important buildings only the Library (the medieval Cloth-halls) has perished. Its destruction is the most deplorable loss that has occurred in the Belgian districts occupied

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28 Certes, l' incendie pémédité de la Collégiale de Louvain suffit à démontrer la volonté de détruire, La Guerre Allemande, 97, 99.

by the Germans, since the collection of literature bearing on local history which it possessed cannot be duplicated. The outer walls and the lofty baroque gable still stand; but the interior is laid waste; the beautiful staircase with its quaint ceiling is no more. The spreading of the fire could not be checked in spite of the heroic efforts of the German troops. The catastrophe is, in a large measure, due to the fact that the Library was in no wise protected against the possibility of a conflagration; it was surrounded by structures of very combustible material; the interior equipment was entirely of wood in defiance of rules of modern fire-proof construction; there were no provisions for an emergency.[29] St. Peter's Church has sustained the following injuries: the steeple and the roof timber of the nave and transept became a prey of the flames; in the interior an altar in the south aisle perished, presumably catching fire from a burning rafter crashing through a window; in addition to which the wind screens of the southern transept were demolished. The apse has in parts been pierced, but the vaults have shown splendid resistance.[30] The church furniture, such as the magnificent ambon and the shrine of the Blessed Sacrament, is intact. The valuable paintings of Dirck Bouts were snatched from the flames by Captain Thelemann.[31] The various hurts, enumerated above, do not affect the construction of the church; in no sense can it be said to be an absolute ruin. The other churches of Louvain have not suffered the slightest harm. The Town Hall, one of the finest specimens of late gothic architecture, was menaced by a scaffold extending over the whole side façade; it was rescued from certain destruction by the efforts of our troops, as even our enemies must admit, though they do it very ungraciously. We do not begrudge them the sordid satisfaction they experience in belittling the merit of this act by pointing out that the Town Hall served as head-quarters for the general staff. But whoever passes along the devastated streets of the afflicted parts of Louvain, will notice amidst surrounding ruins and debris, many uninjured dwellings, which also were saved through the endeavors of our troops, not because they served as head-quarters, but because their owners were known to be reliable and peaceful men and to have had no connection with the conspiracy. That only a comparatively small section of the city succumbed to the flames, must be

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29 The curator of the Library made the statement: The measures against the outbreak of a fire are inadequate; I would rather see the shelves of iron, and the Library less beautiful. Frankf. Ztg. 277, Oct. 6, 1914.

30 A special trick by which illustrated periodicals succeed in conveying the impression of total destruction consists in picturing the west facade of the church which was never completed, with the southern tower that has been a ruin ever since 1612. Thus Pagine d'Arte, Milan III, 44, 1915, with the lying inscription: Dopo il bombardamento.

31 Prof. Grondijs does not blush to comment on this act in his own sneering way: "On a prétendu que les tableaux qui se trouvaient dans l'église auraient été sauvés par les officiers allemands. Ce mot 'sauvé' me semble être un euphémisme." The baseness of this gratuitous insinuation is utterly unworthy of an honest man and reveals the warped mentality of the Professor. Yet this patent lie was welcomed without further examination by French authors and found its way into many publications.

credited to our soldiers and the local fire-brigade which our officers summoned to the place of danger. It is necessary to mention this explicitly, since our enemies have not scrupled to assert that the German soldiers destroyed the fire-engines and ladders and shot at all persons making an attempt to prevent the spreading of the flames.[32] But in this instance even Mr. Grondijs, the main source of information for our enemies, for once tells the truth and admits the presence of pumps and the efforts of our soldiers to control the fire (Les Allemands en Belgiques 51).

An unprejudiced investigation of all the details, in their right setting and causal connection, makes it clear that the Germans have no cause to palliate or gloss over anything in the Louvain incident. We may lament the fact that innocent victims have been drawn into the ruinous currents of the catastrophe; we sincerely deplore the destruction of the venerable Library. But the full responsibility falls on those who misled by an ill-advised patriotism and blinded by passion, made treacherous attacks on regular troops. "The Belgians," Dr. Meurer concludes his legal brief (96), "have ignominiously violated the regulations of the Hague Convention. They alone bear the responsibility for the partial destruction of Louvain." After peace has been restored and when calm judgment returns, the Belgians themselves will reverse the present verdict and place the blame where it really belongs; they will acquit the German army which acted in sheer self-defense and exercised severe, but just retaliation; they will fix the guilt on the leaders of the Garde-Civique, who instigated the fatal uprising, and on the Belgian press that for weeks lashed the passions of the population into wild fury and glorified in its columns the treacherous attacks of civilians, and of women and girls, on single and unprepared soldiers. This systematic poisoning of the popular mind inevitably and logically led up to the outbreaks of incensed passion in Aerschot, Dinant and Louvain. The retaliatory measures of the German army did not go beyond the limits of self-defense, and are sanctioned by the Hague Convention. The actual condition of the city, the self-restraint in the carrying out of the punishment and the efforts to restrict its effects to the guilty ones disprove thoroughly the unwarranted charge of insensate fury and destructive mania, frivolously and groundlessly flung at the German troops. We may sum up the result of our investigation in the words of the Swedish Deputy, Dr. Hildebrand: "The tragedy of Louvain can not be cited as an argument for German vandalism."[33]

The hue and cry over Louvain had not yet subsided, when the loud

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32 Les Allemands destructeurs 50.
33 Ein starkes Volk, 75.

clamor about *Reims* arose.[34] During their advance on Paris the German troops had occupied the city September 4, but had been compelled to evacuate it after the battle of the Marne. The wounded that had been lodged in the Cathedral were transported with the exception of a small remnant. North of the city our retreating troops rallied and made a firm stand to stem the progress of the French army. Reims, girthed by a strong belt of forts, became the main foothold of the French line; as such it was subjected to vehement bombardments by the German artillery at various times: Sept. 14, Oct. 8, Nov. 23 and 29, and Febr. 21 and 22. The Cathedral itself, having been used for purposes of reconnoitring was shelled Sept. 19. A conflagration which resulted from the bombardment of the city, spread to the roof-timber of the Cathedral and to a wooden scaffold erected for reparations of the northern tower. As the scaffold collapsed it injured considerably the statues and the ornamental details of the façade.

The French authors impute to the Germans the deliberate intention and the preconceived and wellprepared plan of destroying "the national shrine of French history;" they refuse to admit that there is any question of military reasons. These are their chief arguments for the premeditated character of the destruction. After their entrance into the city, the Germans covered the floor of the Cathedral with straw for the accommodation of the wounded; Sept. 12. the commander had larger quantities of straw placed in the Cathedral to be ready for the increased number of wounded which would be a likely result of the impending battle. No battle, however, is said to have taken place; on the contrary the German troops began their retreat that very day and took with them the greater part of the wounded. And so, our adversaries conclude, there can be no doubt that the Germans entertained the intention of burning the Cathedral. Their malevolent design appears, moreover, from the threatening proclamation (effroyable affiche) which the Mayor of the city published in the name of the General, to the effect, that in the probable event of a battle, the citizens must refrain from all participation therein, any illegitimate participation in the fighting to be punished by the execution of the hostages and the destruction of the city. This proclamation, it is claimed, betrays the long conceived project to destroy the church in which the kings of France were crowned. These are the two only arguments by which our adversaries try to demonstrate their contention. Any attempt to refute them would do them undeserved honor. The authors themselves are somewhat ashamed of their wonderful straw-

[34] From the pertinent bibliography we can only mention the more important publications: Les Allemands destructeurs de Cathédrales; La Guerre Allemande; Vindex, La basilique dévastée; E. Male, La Cathédrale de Reims; A. Demar-Latour, Ce qu'ils on détruit; Baudrillart, L'âme de la France à Reims. The German view point is represented in the following: Memorandum of the Minister of Foreign Affairs; Max. Pfeiffer in Köln. Vlztg. July 10, 1915, Nr. 553; Sept. 23, 1914, Nr. 832; Frankf. Ztg. 1914, Sept. 22; Nov. 3.

argument, and add, that it arose in the popular imagination (l'imagination populaire, Les Allemands destructeurs, 12). The proclamation explains itself in the light of the events which transpired in Louvain; it must be regarded as a measure of caution to prevent a repetition of riots and treacherous conspiracies as they had occurred in Belgium. In this action the military authorities were in perfect harmony with international law and the accepted usages of war. It is preposterous to read out of the proclamation any design to destroy the venerable basilica.

And why, we are tempted to ask ourselves, should the Germans have had any such intentions? The imagination of our adversaries is wondrously prolific in producing all sorts of possible reasons. Their baffled march on Paris kindled in the leaders of the German troops a wild fury and an uncontrollable desire for revenge. They knew that no blow would hurt French patriotism more than the destruction and desecration of their national sanctuary, the very heart of France, the cradle of the splendor of its kings and the memorable spot where Joan of Arc brought Charles VII to be crowned. Any injury done to the Cathedral would be felt by the whole nation as a personal wound.[35] Baudrillart has thought it proper to set forth from the pulpit the national importance of the venerable Basilica. As the last leaf in its glorious history he mentions the visit of the Czar to the famous building in 1901 and declaims, "here under its sacred roof the two nations consecrated their alliance for the coming fight against the common enemy."[36] Generally, these same gentlemen try to make us believe that they were surprised in the most brutal fashion by their rapacious and aggressive neighbors. Here it leaks out that France for years fostered sentiments of revenge and cemented an alliance in order to be able to gratify them. And, moreover, was not such an alliance for revenge a profanation of the sacred temple; and if it really had served such base political intrigues, had it not thereby been divested of its sacred character and become, not without good reason, an object of wrath on the part of the Germans against whom this foul conspiracy had been hatched within its holy walls? But we will not do Msgr. Baudrillart the wrong to think that he uttered those spiteful words with full deliberation and knowledge; we sincerely hope that he will, as Christian and Catholic, some day regret having thus played to the gallery and catered to the narrowest chauvinism. Of course, the old bugaboo of the Teutonic anti-clericalism is lugged in to do service as a motive for the destruction of the Cathedral. Nothing is too absurd; one will have us believe, that the Germans had vowed destruction to this

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35 Demar-Latour, l. c. 5: "Et alors, ces monstres fous d'orgueil, ivres de sang, se sont saisis par une colère féroce! Leur impuissance leur est montée au coeur. Elle s'est transformée en rage. Ils se sont vengés, vengés de la manière la plus ignoble, la plus infâme, la plus dégoutante." For intemperance of language this passage cannot easily be matched.

36 L'âme de la France, 21.

magnificent edifice, ever since they found out that its style of architecture had not sprung up on German soil.[37] We have already referred to the attempt to fasten the guilt of the destruction on J. Görres and proved that the passage[38] which is attributed to him, is apogryphical. Every possible and impossible motive is assigned and greedily believed, except the nearest and the most natural one, because this would place our adversaries in the wrong and shift the responsibility for the destruction to their own shoulders.

If all this were true and the Germans had set themselves the task to demolish this landmark of French history, they could have accomplished their design in a cheaper and more thorough manner during their stay in Reims. Hence we are compelled to look for some other explanation. The explanation offered by the German army command presents itself as the most plausible and reasonable one. We are assured by the military authorities that the bombardment of the Cathedral was decreed because its towers were used for military purposes. We have a declaration from Headquarters to this effect dated from the 22. of September; shortly after, October 24, it was again observed that the Cathedral had been used in a military way. It would be ridiculous to assert that Reims was entitled to immunity, in view of the fact that it is surrounded by strong fortifications and serves as the military basis for the enemy's defense; as such it logically becomes the goal of the attacks of our troops. It was our intention to spare the Cathedral; the French had raised over it, since Sept. 19, the Red Cross flag, because it sheltered a number of German wounded soldiers. At the same time an outlook was stationed on the northern tower to direct the firing of the French artillery on our lines. It was a fiendish plan, as the Report of the Ministry of War emphasizes, to make these attacks under double cover, under the protection of the helpless and wounded and under the protection of art and religion. The same base disposition inspired the plan to put the batteries under the aegis of the venerable basilica. On the 22-23 of September aviators detected batteries in the rear of the Cathedral and on the 13. of October heavy batteries in front of the Cathedral, guided in their operations by light signals from the tower. Any attempt to dislodge these batteries would expose the venerable building to grave danger, and the French had calculated that this fatal possibility would paralyze all efforts of the Germans. Of course, the French strenuously deny all these abusive measures to which they resorted. They maintain that there was not the semblance of a

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[37] Il y eut une époque où l'esprit allemand se montrait fier de l'architecture gothique, où il considérait cette architecture comme un produit authentique du germanisme. . . . Et puis l'archéologie, mieux informée, dévoila que ces cathédrales étaient l'oeuvre d'artistes français. Rien ne les protégeait . . . contre les assauts de la colère . . . Et la sentence de mort fut rendue, et les canons l'exécutèrent 32, 99.

[38] Cf. The German War and Catholicism, p. 75, 78.

military necessity for the bombardment, that it was prompted by a perverse joy in wanton destruction and that, according to the statement of General Joffre, the tower at no time was used as an observation station. Canon Landrieux, the Vicar General of Reims, denies the German charge and declares that "at no time an observation post has been placed on the towers, or a battery in the Cathedral grounds."[39] However, there is irrefutable evidence that an outlook was installed in one of the towers of the Cathedral. In a letter, dated from the 15. of September, a general belonging to the army investing Reims writes to his friend, Professor Hamann: "I have grave misgivings about the Cathedral of Reims, because it is used for purposes of observation. Meanwhile it will not yet be bombarded, so far it has practically not been injured."[40] On September 19 the outlook was seen repeatedly and distinctly through the periscope, giving signals by means of flags; German aviators made the same observations. Concerning these facts we have the sworn affidavits of the commanding general, the chief of the general staff and the captain of the battery.[41] It might be objected that at such a distance the possibility of a delusion was not excluded, though the clearness of the weather and the repeated observations reduce it to a minimum which for all practical purposes would be ruled out. But there is additional evidence which establishes the fact on a basis of absolute certainty. A German who remained behind when our troops retired, declares on oath, "that from the 16. to the 19. of September, he beheld at various intervals military watches stationed on one of the towers of the Cathedral, and that these outlooks were transferred to the roof of a nearby hospital flying the Red Cross flag, after the bombardment of the Cathedral."[42] To those who would regard this testimony as onesided and biased, we submit the admissions made by French and English witnesses. "L'Illustration" of September 26. acknowledges that refractors were mounted on the northern tower since September 13; and the Abbé Thinot of the Cathedral owns, in the October 10 issue of the same periodical, that these search lights were in actual use during the night of September 13. Frank Hedges Butler, an Englishman, describes his experiences in "The Wine and Spirit Trade Record" of November 8. He writes, that, in the middle of September, being allowed to watch the fighting from the northern tower, he noticed there, besides the Red Cross flag, telephones, electric lights and soldiers' beds. A correspondent of the "Times" (September 22) reports that the French had placed their artillery in the inner city, and that they kept up an active fire; leaving the Cathedral he observed heavy pieces of ordnance parked "at the head

39 Les Allemands destructeurs 23.
40 Reprinted in the Frankf. Ztg. of Sept. 24, 1914. Nr. 265.
41 The bombardment of the Cathedral of Reims, 13-18.
42 l. c. 12.

of the main street." Photographs taken by our aviators show the exact location of the batteries, both in front and in the rear of the Cathedral; they were so placed that the projectiles, fired to silence them, if the trajectory was ever so slightly miscalculated, would inevitably strike the sacred edifice. Observations of October 29 again established the presence of a battery in the front of the Cathedral and an outlook on the tower. The "Frankfurter Zeitung" (November 3, 1914, No. 305) has published a photograph which reveals the position of the battery in front of the Cathedral; at the same time it shows that other batteries were mounted on the square Belle-Tour and in the neighborhood of the church of St. Remi, another structure of great artistic value.

In the face of this evidence, we know what we have to think of the official denials. The German army-command was placed before an embarrassing dilemma. It had to sacrifice either military or esthetic interests; allow the batteries, operating under the protection of the Cathedral, to remain unmolested and continue their deadly work, or disregard esthetic scruples and yield to the imperative necessities of the moment and the dictates of humanity. The second member of the alternative triumphed. And that this was the only sensible choice and thoroughly in concord with the deepest instincts of humanity, appears from the spontaneous utterances of Maurice Barrès, which he made the day after the bombardment: "It is better that the most beautiful piles of stone perish than the blood of the race. In such moments I place the lowliest and weakest soldier above all the immortal masterpieces of art."[43] The order to spare the cluster of convents and hospitals, situated in the southeastern part of the city, in particular the Cathedral, was suspended. This was reluctantly done, and only after every doubt as to the facts had been dispelled. Previously a projectile from a 15cm-howitzer, going astray, had landed on the roof of the Cathedral and caused trifling injuries to some testers and pinnacles,[44] in the forenoon of September 19, the presence of larger bodies of troops having been ascertained, the immediate neighborhood of the Basilica was covered by our guns. After shrapnel-shots had proved ineffectual on account of the distance, at noon a howitzer-shot was fired, to dislodge the observation post; the shell struck about 2-3 m. below the platform, without doing serious harm. "This was the *only bombardment,* in which the *Cathedral itself* was the direct target."[45] According to French reports, which, however, are deficient in exact details, thirty other shots or fragments of shells besides struck the building; if this is the case, they must have come from grenades exploding in the neighborhood. In the afternoon of September 19, the scaffold of

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43 Reprinted in the "Corr. della Sera" of Sept. 22, 1914.
44 Dégâts encore sans importance, Les Allemands destructeurs, 14.
45 Memorandum, The bombardment of Reims, 8, 14-18.

the northern tower caught fire, as to the origin of which German and French reports differ. The German army command claims that it was caused by the burning of houses in the vicinity; the French will have it, that it was directly kindled by hot shells. If the French version, though it does not rest on actual observation, be correct, the fire arose from shells which were not meant for the Cathedral; as the latter was not again directly bombarded that day.[46]

The graver injuries of the Cathedral have not been caused by shells, but by the burning of the scaffold. From the scaffold the fire spread to the roof, where it did thorough work, so as to lay bare the upper part of the vaults. The northern tower received fatal wounds; the intense heat cracked the masonry and loosened the statues and ornaments; falling beams tore down other parts, which at the foot of the tower continued to glow for a long time, as through strange neglect they were not extinguished, and thus caused the decorations of the portals to crumble. Much of this damage could have easily been prevented; the actual extent which the ruin assumed, is to be blamed on the utter carelessness of the authorities of Reims. Three weeks the city had been the center of military operations, and nothing had been done to protect the various masterpieces of art, in which the city abounds, against the inevitable ravages of the war. It would have been easy to shield the portals and façades by heaping up sandbags against them, as the Italians did, even before they took part in the war, in Venice, Verona and Bologna. The fire-protection-service proved to be woefully inadequate; no special provisions had been made for an emergency, though the erection of a wooden scaffold around the tower, was of itself a continual menace to the Cathedral. When the conflagration began, no fire-extinguishing apparatus was available; the nearest fire-station had been demolished by a shell, of course, by the deliberate malice of the Germans to make sure of the destruction of the Cathedral.[47] No alarm was sent to any of the other fire-stations. Or is it credible that there should have been only one fire-station in a city of 120,000 inhabitants? There is no excuse for this lack of efficiency, which has been strongly denounced by the "Cri de Paris." The French may accuse us of barbarism; but it still will be true, that *the deplorable fate of their Cathedral is due to their total failure of complying with the most elementary demands of modern progress.*

Certain incidents which happened in connection with the burning of the Cathedral, throw an even more unfavorable light on French

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46 Les Allemands destr. 17. The Howitzer shot was discharged 12.20 P. M.; the fire of the scaffold started at 3 P. M. (German time 4 P. M.), according to Canon Landrieux; it was perceived by our observation post at 5 P. M. Consequently, it cannot be connected with the howitzer shot.

47 Les Allemands destr. 18.

"Kultur." The sworn statements of a nun of the sanitary service, a physician and a voluntary member of the sanitary corps, the Rev. Prullage, curate of Stadtlohn, who remained with the German wounded in Reims and witnessed the conflagration, vouch for the following facts. The French army command had the German wounded transported from their comparatively safe lodgings to the Cathedral, September 17; no wounded Frenchmen were lodged there. When the fire spread to the straw in the Cathedral, only the clergy made an effort to save the helplessly wounded. The soldiers on guard, however, sought to prevent the escape of the sick from the flames and fired on those who had fled to a nearby courtyard. These facts need no commentary! The German Ministry of War is justified when it brands this proceeding as "a fiendish plan, inhuman in its conception and brutal in the details of its execution." The matter is aggravated by the nauseating hypocrisy of the French description, which tries to make it out, that the French soldiers showed much heroism and humaneness in their conduct towards their helpless victims.

After the first bombardment the Cathedral was struck again Sept. 22 or 23, unintentionally by a shell that had been aimed at a battery located in the rear of the building. The Ministry of War denies that any other direct and deliberate bombardment took place than the one alluded to above. If at any other time the edifice was struck, it was by accident.

Regarding the *extent and the gravity of the injuries* caused, we can say that they have been greatly exaggerated. The French government adopted the same mode of proceeding, of which the Belgian government had set such a striking example in the case of Louvain. The disaster was magnified beyond measure in order to arouse a profound indignation among the neutrals and to inveigle them into energetic and vigorous protests against German "barbarism." If one would believe the Report of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the famous Basilica were "only a heap of rubbish."[48] For some days the world was allowed to remain under this erroneous impression. Gradually foreign papers began to report that matters were not quite as hopeless as represented, and the correspondent of an English journal declared roundly, that the French government must have been very poorly informed, when it gave out its exaggerated account of the destruction of the Cathedral.[49] These optimistic versions of the event were confirmed by the findings of architectural experts. The reports of the curator of Reims, Mr. Jadart,

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[48] Les Allemands destr. 18; La Basilique dévastée, 8, 9.
[49] Reprinted in Köln. Volksztg. Sept. 28, 1914. Nr. 846.

and of the Commission for the Preservation of Monuments enable us to form a fair opinion of the amount of injury done.[50]

The Cathedral is *not affected in its structural parts nor in any way substantially injured.* The roof over the whole body of the church and the cupola at the intersection of nave and transept were burnt. The masonry of the balustrade along the roof and of the gallery below the large windows became cracked from the excess of heat. The vaulting of the northern tower was not hurt by the falling of the bells; but, the tower lost a turret on one of its corners and was perforated in one place. The entire system of arches, with the exception of one supporting arch, is substantially intact, and, consequently, the vaulted ceiling is nowhere endangered. Much more serious, as has already been mentioned, are the injuries which the exterior of the northern tower and façade has suffered through the burning scaffold. They extend to the finials of the buttresses and the parapet, and are particularly noticeable in the jutting parts. Several of the figures are without head and hands. The crucifixion-group and the smaller statues in the niches over the entrance were long exposed to the heat, arising from the smoldering debris, and are the worse for it. The parts thus exposed may undergo a further disintegration from the influences of wind and frost, since little has been done to shield them against the deleterious effects of atmospheric conditions.[51] The two other portals have only been slightly grazed by flying fragments of shrapnel. As the straw was permitted to go on smoldering in the interior, considerable harm was done to the pulpit, the stalls and other furniture of wooden construction. The windows for the greater part have come to grief either through the air-pressure caused by explosions or by spreading slivers of bursting grenades. In an annex to the vestry a wall was pierced and the winding-stairs leading to it were torn away. Fortunately the paintings of the interior and the valuable tapestries from the 15. and 16. centuries are unhurt.

The church of St. Remi, likewise of great architectonic importance, has escaped with lighter injuries. A bomb broke through the roof of the apse and crashed into an altar. Of the archiepiscopal palace only the graceful and valuable chapel has survived. Since the palace had partly been used as a museum for ecclesiastical art, a number of antiques and old prints perished with it. The muncipal library and the museum of fine arts have been spared; the latter was struck by three shots, and some paintings of no great artistic value were slightly scarred. The sculptures are perfectly intact. The city hall has suffered much less than was at first feared.[52]

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50 Les Allemands destr. 60; "Figaro," Nov. 14, 1914; Clemen, Flugschrift des Dürerbundes 132.
51 Le Journal, Sept. 1915. Bad. Presse Sept. 10, 1915. Nr. 422.
52 Jadart in "Figaro" of Nov. 14, 1914.

En somme, la cathédrale subsiste! With gratification we may state that the glorious old Cathedral still exists. Its beauty is not a thing of the past, but is still with us, a delightful reality and a joy for ever. Though our sorrow is great that some of its details have been marred, our joy is greater that it has been preserved in its essentials. The first reports of the destruction of Louvain and Reims made our hearts sink within us; we recalled with bitter regrets the solemn moments we had been privileged to spend in the contemplation of their sublime masterpieces of architecture. But the question of guilt is not affected by our sorrow for these great artistic losses. The responsibility for them rests with our enemies. The observations made from these towers imperilled the lives of thousands of flourishing, young men; blasted many legitimate hopes; destroyed much happiness and created hosts of widows and orphans; the outcome of the battle and the existence of the nation hung in the balance. In the presence of such weighty considerations artistic emotions would have to be suppressed and silenced. When the destinies of nations are at stake, piles of stone, however great their beauty may be, count for little.

The Catholics and Intellectuals of France have accused us, in very summary fashion, of ruthless vandalism, destructive mania and diabolical hatred of sacred things. They have based this accusation on the natural, inevitable consequences of modern warfare; they have propped it by exaggerations, unjustified generalizations, and where these were not sufficient, by deliberate inventions. In their compilations they show an utter lack of the critical spirit and a total absence of discernment. The alleged facts cannot stand in the face of an honest, impartial inquiry. It is astonishing that men with any respect for the truth should spread broadcast over the world such wild fancies dictated by passion and suggested by the agitated emotions of the moment, without taking time and pains to examine them properly; and it is almost incredible that ecclesiastics of high standing should have endorsed them.

Anyone who knows the history of France sees through the hypocrisy of these charges and will not take them serious. If we open the account books of France, we find that all the instances of vandalism, which they charge against us, are matched and by far outnumbered *on their own side.* It may not be a pleasant task to pry into the past of the enemy and to meet accusation by accusation, but it is necessary in order to rebuke his intolerable pride and boundless conceit. For he has not hesitated to delve into the prehistoric antiquity of our ancestors to search for proofs of barbarism. We will hold up to him the mirror of his own history; the reflection he sees there will sober his judgment and tone down his moral indignation. It may induce him to come

down from the perch of moral superiority on which he has enthroned himself. We will not unroll the records of antiquity; we will stop at the epoch of Louis XIV, considered the period of the greatest splendor of France and the zenith of its civilization. We recall the diabolical plan of the great king, to reduce to a desert the most flourishing provinces of the German Empire. At that time, systematically and with cold forethought, the Palatinate and Baden were laid waste with fire and sword, and all monuments of art and beautiful churches were mercilessly destroyed. Speyer and Worms, Mannheim, Heidelberg, Frankenthal, Pforzheim, Durlach, Graben, Staffort, Mühlburg, Blankenloch, Rintheim, Grötzingen, Baden-Baden, Oberkirch, Offenburg, Gengenbach, not to mention the picturesque hamlets along the Rhine and the Schwarzwald, were completely and barbarously devastated in 1689. If ever, here was a case of vandalism and incendiarism on a gigantic scale; for this was done, not under the pressure of military necessity or for urgent political reasons, but merely to satisfy the vanity of the Grand Monarque. What was thought of these needless cruelties and stupendous atrocities even by the French themselves, appears from a characteristic passage in a book of an anonymous author "Les soupirs de la France esclave" (1689): "The French were once looked upon as a decent, humane and just people opposed to all barbarism. But today Frenchman and cannibal are synonymous in the judgment of our neighbors."[53] And if it were true that our army meant to strike at the old royalty of France when it levelled its guns at the Cathedral of Reims, we still did not sink as low as our enemies in 1793; for they rifled the tombs of the German Kings in Speyer and set fire to the Dome under which they had rested. While the world's attention is focused on German vandalism, these things are relegated to the back ground. Nor does any one think it worth while to call attention to the fact that the men of the revolution, in their blind hatred of the Christian name, have done infinitely more harm to the ecclesiastical edifices of their own country, than has been caused in this war.

Their hypocritical indignation at our alleged misdeeds has even made them forget their immediate past, which is still fresh in the memory of everybody and which will furnish as splendid samples of vandalism as you can find anywhere. It is not so long that France blushed at the barbarism of her own sons. Then Maurice Barrés, who is now so loud in his outcries against us, sang to a different tune. In word and picture, he then showed that barbarism was spreading over the country like a black pall and threatening to destroy the precious inherit-

53 Les Français passaient autrefois pour une nation honnête, humaine, civile, d'un esprit opposé aux barbaries; mais aujourd'hui un Français et un cannibale c'est à-peu-près la même chose dans l'esprit des voisins.

ance of art, as it had uprooted the faith of the fathers. That was the time when the law of separation of Church and State was enacted and brutally carried out in France. Another Jeremias, Maurice Barrés lamented the inevitable decay of the churches of France which would follow in the wake of that iniquitous law.[54]

For as religion was plucked from the hearts, the interest in the houses of worship languished and the means for their maintenance were wanting. Many churches were then abandoned to the onslaught of the destructive influences of time and weather; in a short time they showed deterioration and presented sad pictures of desolation; others were handed over to the enemies of religion, who sold the church equipment and left the noble edifices stand vacant and unused or turned them over to profane uses. Thus France squandered its rich inheritance of sacred art. In a pamphlet the same author published a list, eloquent and pathetic in its length, of country churches doomed to a gradual, relentless decay.[55]

"In many churches the windows are broken; the birds build their nests on the altars, and the chilly atmosphere of death breathes through the sacred halls. The burgomasters have ordered the doors to be closed, and many a time have I seen an old woman, too weak to attend mass in a neighboring village, weep on the church steps before the barred doors." Our soldiers have frequently commented on this aspect of desolation and neglect which the French churches present and expressed their wonder at this strange phenomenon among a Catholic population. It does not come within our province to enlarge on this matter, yet it will not be amiss to give some illustrations of what has been done in France within the last years in the way of vandalism and anti-clericalism, the two charges which our enemies so superciliously and frivolously prefer against us. The romanesque churches of Chars (Seine et Oise) and Bornel (Oise) from the 12 century are permitted to decay despite the fact that the curé has offered to defray all expenses, just because the fanatic and bigoted council would like to see them removed.[56]

In Cinqueux the council ordered the church to be wrecked, though the curé was willing to furnish the funds for its up-keep.[57]

The belfry of the church in Montchauvet (Seine et Oise) shared its lot.[58]

In Volx (Basses), where a resolution was passed in council to destroy a romanesque chapel, the mayor cut short all remonstrances by the

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54 La grande pitié des églises de France, Paris 1914.
55 Tableau des églises rurales qui s'écroulent, Paris, 1913.
56 Barres, La grande pitié 209.
57 l. c. 23.
58 Revue de l'art chrét., 191, 279.

remark: "It reminds us of the time when our fathers were groaning under the yoke of a tyrannical and cruel clergy. Remember, that it has seen the ages of the Inquisition and of the night of St. Bartholomew and of the Dragonnades."[59]

In Grisy-Suisnes an old church is sold by order of the mayor and torn down. Barrés himself describes, how the sale was accompanied by blasphemous remarks and how disrespectfully the remains of the priests were treated that had been buried in the church. (l. c. 13).

In Vendôme the anti-religious fury of these representatives of modern French civilization reached its culmination. By an ordinance of the council the belfry of St. Martin's church was turned into a privy and dedicated to its new purpose on holy Friday with mock-solemnity. The orator of the disgraceful occasion had the cheek to declare publicly: "We erect on sacred ground, a temple to the god of digestion." (Barrés, l. c.). Regard for common decency forbids us to give the further nauseating details of this anti-Christian orgy. But in this the council of Vendôme was following precedent established by persons higher up. The Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. Truillot, had issued a menu for a Good Friday dinner which contained the following items: "Consommé à la pig of St. Antony, Hare à la Turinaz; Peas à la Sarto; Cake à la Sacred Heart of Jesus."[60]

We can understand after these samples of anti-clericalism why the French imagination is so fruitful in inventing blasphemous actions which they impute to the Germans; they are drawing on their own past and experience. It may also be recalled, how carefully all references to the landmarks of the Catholic past of the country and to the monuments of sacred art were expunged from the manuals, which served for the instruction of the youth of France. (E. Duplessy, Journal apologetique de la Guerre, Paris, 1914.) That is how much France cares for its churches; but as a pretext for a campaign of slander against the boches, they come in very handy. Of course, "La guerre allemande" and the other French books have nothing to say on the crimes of France against religion and the Church; not even the ecclesiastics remember the rabid anti-clericalism of their own government, which has not altogether subsided during the war, and lustily join in the outcry against the infidelity and the anti-clericalism of the German people. Yet these things do not belong to remote ages, but have occurred within the memory of the living generation; not much more than a decade separates us from them. This is the grim irony of fate that makes a people forget its own outrages

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59 M. Barres, l. c. 24.
60 Goldschmitt, Der Kulturkampf in Frankreich, Metz, 1915, 76.

and sit in judgment on the imaginary wrong-doings of its neighbors. The hypocrisy of it all is revolting.

The publications of our enemies observe an equally guarded and comprehensive silence with respect to the fact that *their own army has treated monuments and churches precisely in the same manner as the German army.* This one-sidedness has a purpose; for, only thus can the accusation of German vandalism be maintained with a semblance of plausibility. We have pointed out that the number of churches wrecked by the French, English and Belgians is not less than that destroyed by the German troops.[61]

Not to repeat the long catalogue of churches demolished by our enemies in Belgium and France, we will only mention some of those laid waste in Alsace-Lorraine, viz: those of *Ammerzweiler, Bernweiler, Schweighausen, Ober—and Niederburnhaupt, Niederaspach, Steinbach, Saales and Wattweiler.* Beginning July 6, the church and monastery of *Oelenberg* were advisedly bombarded by our enemies until nothing but ruins remained, though no military necessity could be pleaded in excuse of this act.[62]

If it is mentioned as a deed of special perverseness that German airships dropped shells on the roof of Notre Dame of Paris, we may retort that French flyers threw bombs on the convent of the Sisters of Mercy, which had been converted into a hospital, on the chapel of the Catholic Institute, on the Sacred Heart Church and on St. John's church in *Freiburg,* on St. Stephan's church and the museum of antiquities in *Karlsruhe* and on the venerable Porta Nigra in *Trier.* These things are shrouded in impenetrable silence. Is it, perhaps, that our enemies entertain the idea that only their monuments possess value and ought to be spared, and that those of others are valueless and need not be respected? This would, indeed, be a strange and naïve conceit, fully in keeping, however, with the air of superiority which they assume whenever they speak of anything pertaining to Germany. The same generous silence is extended to the misdeeds of their Allies. Neither "La Guerre allemande" nor "Les Allemands destructeurs" breathe a word of the *fearful destruction* wrought by the Russians in *East Prussia* and *Galicia,* though this was done without military necessity, but merely on the general principle of Louis XIV that it is wise to convert the enemy's country into a desert. Those same authors that cannot find words strong enough to condemn the Germans as "barbarians" and that do not hesitate to call their whole civilization an

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61 Clemen, The French and English as destroyers of historical monuments on the west front.

62 "Germania," July 30, 1915, Nr. 346; "Strassb. Post," July 18, Nr. 525.

anachronism which ought to be dated back to the dark ages, are careful not to utter a word of disapproval at the outrages committed by their Muscovite allies. The duplicity and dishonesty of this proceeding is perfectly obvious. Forsooth, we have also great losses of art to mourn in the districts visited by the Russian troops; but we have not trumpeted them forth into the world, to cause our neighbors to reckon with the "barbarian hordes," but have born our sorrows in silence and resigned ourselves, as best we could, to the inevitable reverses of fortune.

For their bombardment of churches in their own country and in hostile territory our enemies plead, in a summary, offhand way, military necessity. We had occasion to remark, that in several of the cases mentioned no such cogency can be proved. But granted, that military reasons could be urged in justification of their actions or that, at least, the commander believed such reasons to exist, why, in all fairness, do they not apply the same principle to the measures of our army command? *Hanc damus veniam petimusque vicissim!* This lack of mutuality and reciprocity is unfair. It is true our enemies persistently deny that they ever or anywhere used church towers and ecclesiastic buildings for military purposes and claim that all contrary assertions are "lies and subterfuges contrived by German knavishness."[63] The sweeping generality of these denials is somewhat startling and little calculated to beget confidence; but when these general denials are confronted by specific evidence to the contrary, they, of necessity, collapse. Now, as a matter of fact, we have convincing testimony that a military lookout (photographed by an American reporter) was stationed on the steeple of the Cathedral of Antwerp, that a machine gun (sketched by an Englishman) was mounted on the tower of St. Peter's church in Louvain and that observation posts and guns were placed on the towers of the Cathedrals of Reims and Soissons.[64] And if these invaluable monuments were heedlessly drawn into war operations, is it likely that greater consideration would be shown for buildings of lesser architectural importance! But in the absence of any direct intention, the mere fact that a monument happens to lie in the firing line may lead to its destruction. The Belgians are now laying waste their own little villages, perfect gems of medieval city-building, in West Flanders; and the French are beating to the ground some of their most beautiful towns of Lorraine and Northern France. Neither are prompted by a mania for destruction or animated by vandalistic instincts. They are compelled by the dire necessities of war. Our adversaries should have made proper allowance for the *inevitable destructiveness of war,* if

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63 La Guerre allemande 124.

64 "New York Tribune," Oct. 22, 1914. Nr. 24812; "Germania," Nov. 12, 1914, Nr. 521; "Köln. Vlztg." Nov. 14, 1914, Nr. 984.

they intended their reports to be honest, just and fair. But then, of course, their books would never have been written for dearth of material.

As the French publications suppress every mention of destruction done by their own, so they *pass over in silence what has been done by our men to save art treasures in the country of the enemy.* Veuillot represents the Germans as leaving along the route of their march in Belgium and France nothing but smoldering ruins, tumbling walls and stumps of church steeples (La guerre allemande, 88). The Album states that the Germans destroyed almost all the churches along their way (A 6). "Les Allemands destructeurs" declares: "Wherever the German troops arrived, they trod international law under foot and scattered the precious heirlooms of civilization" (7). Without any restriction the German army is here accused of vandalistic destruction of whatever they found of art and beauty in the country of the enemy. As we have seen, this charge is not only a gross exaggeration, but an unqualified calumny with no foundation in fact whatsoever. The truth is, that in Belgium only a small fraction of churches was damaged, and that at least half of these must be put down to the account of our enemies. It has, moreover, been proved by irrefutable evidence, that this was not done wantonly, but as the result of necessary military measures. In all other places churches and monuments are intact. The reports of our adversaries persistently conceal these facts, favorable to the German troops; nay, they even seek to cast doubt on them by vague innuendoes and unscrupulous insinuations. Thus in "Les Allemands destructeurs" we read the venomous passage: "To many cities we did not have access; hence, we do not know what happened there." In the same despicable manner do our adversaries cast suspicion on the efforts of the German government to save and store movable objects of art, by hinting that they were purloined and carried away. Prof. Grondijs blazed the trail for them in this direction by his caddish remark anent the rescuing of the paintings of St. Peter's church. False reports were circulated that the Germans, following the example of Napoleon I, had taken valuable paintings from Bruges, Ghent and Louvain and brought them to Berlin. The facts, however, are all the other way. After the occupation of Belgium the German government appointed two art students, Dr. Clemen and Dr. v. Falke, to look after the movable and immovable art treasures and to do everything for their preservation and safekeeping. Prof. Keune did the same thing for Lorraine. Under the auspices of these men preventive measures against a further decay of the injured buildings were immediately adopted, and temporary roofs put up where this was necessary as in Malines, Louvain and Dinant. Objects of precious metal and works of art, in any way imperiled, were stored for safekeeping in the museums of Brussels

during the war. In a similar manner valuable objects of art from the menaced districts of the Meuse, Meurthe and Moselle were safely stored in the church of the Knight-templars in Metz. Here we can see sculptures of Ligier Richier rescued from the church of St. Remy in Hattonchâtel destroyed by the French troops; a Pietà from the ruined church of Etain; a crucifixion-group from the heavily bombarded church of St. Mihiel and various other works of art taken from places where they would have undoubtedly perished.[65] What could not be transferred to places of greater safety, was protected on the spot, as much as possible; thus in St. Stephan's church (St. Mihiel) a masterpiece of Ligier Richier, representing the placing of our Lord in the sepulchre, was carefully packed with sandbags.[66] Apparently our enemies would have preferred, if all these masterpieces had perished by their own guns, for this would have furnished them with another welcome opportunity for charging the Germans with vandalism. But since the Germans have prevented this destruction, they will at least misconstrue their actions. So we are invidiously accused of stealing these treasures, which we have stowed away safely and put out of the reach of danger for the duration of the war. This charge is evidently made in bad faith, for the motives of the Germans in this case cannot be mistaken. Yet, though it knows better, the "Temps" maliciously refers to "an exhibition of stolen masterpieces" in Metz.[67] Truly, the conduct of this nation, which plumes itself on its superiority over the German barbarians, presents a strange anomaly; now it shows such an active interest and feverish anxiety for these creations of Christian art and only a short time ago it was indifferent to their existence, for not a thing had been done to protect them in any way against the incidental risks of war, though all these places from the outset lay within the war zone and had been the strongholds of the French battle line. But if they left the preservation of these invaluable relics of Christian antiquity to the merest chance, their present, suddenly aroused concern is fictitious and does not spring from a sincere love of art, but has its root in entirely different sentiments. It is only the mask for political agitation.

In the state of confusion which follows on the occupation of a country by hostile troops, treasures of art may easily be scattered and carried away. The German army command was very solicitous to prevent this and did everything to protect localities and individual owners in their legitimate possessions. It issued various regulations bearing on the care to be exercised with regard to such articles that could easily fall into the wrong hands or might be lost in the turmoil, viz., sacred vessels and vestments, embroideries and tapestries, old silver and porce-

65 Nordd. Allg. Ztg., Germania, Sept. 15, 1915; Clemen, l. c.
66 Köln. Vlztg. Dec. 19, 1914, Nr. 1087.
67 "Germania," 1915, Nr. 425.

lain, manuscripts and old prints, whether contained in public museums or in private collections. "A transferring of such articles to Germany to prevent their destruction or loss will not be tolerated, where no other way remains but their removal from the occupied territory, special application must be made to headquarters." If articles must be removed from ruined buildings, they are to be handed over to the local authorities or in default of these to a committee of trustworthy persons; objects of ecclesiastical use must be turned over to the nearest pastor. "As a general rule the endangered objects shall be stored on the spot. They should be entrusted to the competent local officials or in their absence to other reliable residents. The police also shall adopt effective measures against the destruction, demolition and seizure of such objects. If, for the sake of efficacious protection, they must be transferred to another locality, this again should be left to the discretion and care of the local authorities or distinguished citizens. A record is to be kept of all such transactions and submitted to the administration."[68] This solicitude for the art treasures of the occupied country does not bespeak vandalism and incendiarism. It is an outcome of the love of art fostered in Germany for the last decades and of the respect for the past inculcated in its schools. This, then, was the attitude of the German army command in its treatment of the art treasures of the enemy, wherever it was compatible with military interests; naturally, this outspoken policy would influence the conduct of the whole army and repress personal outbreaks of ruder sentiments. It cannot be unknown in France, that Germany has cultivated a taste and understanding for the monumental treasures of the past and exercised a care in their preservation as no other country. Our neighbors are also well aware, that we have not been provincial and narrow in our tastes, but that we have made French art, particularly ecclesiastical architecture and sculpture, as much the object of study as our own, and that our research in this field has produced results which were readily acknowledged by French scholars and artists. Thus French art came to be highly respected and loved by the German people, so much so that it well nigh eclipsed the native product. And now this honest enthusiasm and unalloyed admiration, free from the slightest trace of national jealousy, is supposed to have suddenly turned into its very contrary; into a boundless hatred and ruthless vandalism, which destroys for the sheer pleasure of destruction the things which we have learned to love and revere and which are bound up with the sweetest associations and most thrilling experiences of our life; into a blind fury which devastates without a pang of regret the very things which we have fairly

[68] Reprinted in the Germania, Sept. 28, 1915, Nr. 439.

worshipped and which have become part and parcel of ourselves. Why, such a change in the soul of a whole people is a psychological impossibility!

We have, so far, not entered into the monstrous charges of alleged *sacrilegious pollution and desecration of sacred utensils and objects of religious worship*. The instances of such conduct, contained in the reports, are not sufficiently authenticated; they are based on rumors and come from districts which have been occupied both by the French and the German troops. Only when it can be proved by unimpeachable evidence that such abhorrent excesses have actually been committed and are not merely the products of an overwrought imagination, can we seriously ventilate the question of authorship. And if their perpetration can be traced to German soldiers, we will be the first to condemn them most severely. But even in this case, the individual convicted of the misdeed must be held responsible, not however the whole army, and much less the entire nation. No such evidence, however, has been forthcoming. We can, moreover, safely assert that the psychological predispositions for actions of this particular description and character are entirely wanting among the German troops. The alleged outrages (103 and A 24) presuppose such a degree of infernal hatred against religion, as is not to be met with in our ranks. Grave improprieties and gross offenses of various kinds, not barring such against churches and ministers of religion, may have occurred; in any army of a million depraved individuals will, of necessity, be found. But this particular species of sacrilegious and blasphemous perverseness does not accord with the German character. Hence if these crimes, exhibiting features of almost diabolic malice, have really been committed, which we are strongly disposed to doubt, they do not point to German authorship; for the German temperament does not incline to sacrilegious excesses.

We have been forced into this unpleasant controversy by the unsubstantiated charges of our enemies. Only by entering into a detailed discussion, could we prove their futility. When, however, thus scrutinized, they appear as downright calumnies which disgrace much more the inventors than the enemies against whom they have been invented. They stand discredited at first blush, by their general and sweeping character and by the immoderate violence with which they are made. A minute examination of the individual accusations, then, brings out the fact that they are based either on unreliable evidence or mere floating rumors or on distortions of actual occurrences and gross exaggerations. Where, however, a fact lies at the bottom of the accusation, it turns out that we are in presence of some of the inevitable consequences of war or of measures dictated by the imperative demands of military necessity. The

impression of wanton vandalism is produced by the suppression of the real motives and of the fact that our enemies in similar circumstances have acted in identically the same fashion. The good repute of the German army, as a whole, and especially, of its leaders, is thus completely vindicated; for, when brought face to face with stubborn realities and undeniable facts, all these charges, so clamorously launched, vanish like pricked bubbles. For any one who knows the German people, even superficially, these accusations bear on their very face the marks of improbability. The conservativeness, the genuine religiousness, the respect for work and the general goodnaturedness of the German people are a guarantee against the perpetration of such craven deeds of violence and vandalism. And these traits have not been obscured by the war, but they shine forth the brighter in this terrible catastrophe, that has come over Europe.

10. The Care of Souls and Religious Life in the German Army.

By Dr. Georg *Pfeilschifter*, Professor at the University of Freiburg, i. B.

THE FRENCH accusations against the German army are as follows: Germany's soldiers have waged a campaign of pillage and plunder upon Catholic churches (87) and Catholic priests (104). Churches and other sanctuaries have been shelled (87 ff.), burned (87 ff., 98 ff.), profaned, and robbed (102). In some cases they have gone so far as to pollute and desecrate (101 ff., 284) sacred buildings by dances, for which the church organ had to furnish the music (101), and by banquets at which the sacred vessels, vestments and altar linens were used (101, 103 f.). They tore down from the cross, "Him, Whom they were not able to torture alive!" (A, 21). "Down with Catholicism, and death to the priests," yelled the German soldiers (104) as they brutally dragged the captive clergy through the streets to the prisons (107 ff.), or violently led them to martyrdom (116 ff.). They vent their malice on priests particularly (105 ff., 244), but nuns also have been the victims of their brutal insults and immoral attacks (121 ff.). Nor did such things occur only in rare instances or under the impulse of the moment; they happened *everywhere,* and the crimes were perpetrated in cold blood, the plan of procedure being *carefully premeditated and methodically executed.* It was, in short, the *German principle of warfare* (86, 94 ff., 105, 255). And the evident *motive* of it all was the *anti-Catholic spirit* of the Germans (128). Obviously, great care had been taken to inspire animosity and prejudice in these sons of Luther against the Roman clergy (82, 129); they were possessed with the innate German hatred of Catholicism (118) and fear of priests (105). For it must be remembered that these barbarians are not only anti-Catholic, but decidedly *anti-Christian,*—bitter enemies of Christianity. In fact, they are *radically anti-religious.* Their conduct has assumed a decidedly anti-religious character (85, 105); their actions unmistakably betoken anti-Catholic abhorrence (83, 101), anti-religious frenzy (96), anti-religious fanaticism (103), anti-religious Sadism (101).

The German, knowing the soldiers to be "his bone and his flesh," cannot comprehend these dreadful charges. He thinks of his sons, brothers, relatives and friends, schoolmates and apprentices, fellow-citizens and co-religionists, with whom he lived and worked year after year, of those whom he reared and instructed,—and cannot conceive how these peaceful people could suddenly be converted into vicious brutes and fanatic adversaries of Christianity. Nothing in his personal experience or recollection will serve to confirm these wild accusations or make them seem probable, and he refers to the history of his people to find if his enemies possibly drew data from the past to substantiate their accusations of the present. But the history of our people, contrary to that of the Latin races, reflects no marked licentiousness, passionateness and savagery. Nor is there a special marked hatred of France evinced in the annals of the "nation of thinkers and poets." Nor has Germany ever been branded in history as being so particular an antagonist of Christianity, and as having so fierce a contempt for religion and morality, as France.

While vainly searching in history for anything that might justify the French charges contained in our premises, we come upon contradictions of the French arguments. For instance, do the twenty-four million German Catholics belong to the anti-Christian and irreligious Germans? Or whither did the 37% Catholics in the population and army suddenly disappear in the speculations of our French accusers? And where are the ardent Catholics who, during the last few decades, have developed religious life in the depths of their souls and practiced the same in public? It appears as if the authors of the French libel entirely, and intentionally, ignored this class in their statements, in order that the German population might appear entirely Protestant, and could therefore be more easily accused of being hostile to Catholicism. But, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that, of the approximate 65 million Germans, 40 million are Protestant and almost 24 (exactly 23 4-5) profess the Catholic religion. The Protestant percentage of 61.4%, compared with the Catholic percentage of 36.6%, forms a ratio of 3:5. The percentages of German Catholics in the larger German States are as follows:

Prussia, 36.3%, with a population of 40 million.
Bavaria, 70.6%, with a population of 6.9 million.
Saxony, 4.9%, with a population of 4.8 million.
Wurtemberg, 30.3%, with a population of 2.4 million.
Baden, 59%, with a population of 2.1 million.

These are the Catholic majorities and—mostly strong—minorities which, by means of their wonderful organization, have become such important

factors in the German Empire. The German "Kulturkampf" has long since disappeared and we, the younger generation, know it only from history. To use the Kulturkampf as an argument against Germany of today would be narrow and unjust. The Catholic Church in Germany now enjoys a growth and prosperity which others envy. And the Catholics in the army rejoice in this condition of faith and morals, and take lively interest therein. Without any hesitation whatsoever, then, do we, so to speak, place our hands in the fire and vouch for our Catholic co-religionists, that they are not guilty of any anti-Christian, anti-religious tendencies, purposes, and actions.

No matter to what denomination our Protestant fellow-citizens belong, they are and strive to be good Christians, to live and fight as such (Cf. the closing remarks of the Rev. Fr. Lippert in chapter 4). There are Germans who, reared in strictly Protestant regions and environments, naturally have a very vague idea of the Catholic religion, and who, because of their lack of knowledge of real Catholic life and piety, mistrust and dislike religious rites, ceremonies and doctrines. But the majority of our dissenting brethren have learnt to show respect and at least political toleration to such phases of our religion which they do not comprehend or approve. Moreover, their religious attitude by no means consists in hatred of Catholicism, much less are they anti-religious fanatics. The fanatics, who—as we have already conceded, are to be found here as everywhere—can alter the general view, neither at home nor on the battlefields.

There is still another group to be classified, and that class comprises the actually anti-Christian and anti-religious element, which, as in other countries, we also have in Germany. Their general and special importance in the war, and their influence on the religious disposition and practice of our many soldiers and their commanders in war (Cf. the chapters 4 and 6) have been enormously over-rated.

So far, we have spoken only in a general way about the great groups that are to be considered as affecting the religious and moral condition and attitude of our populace and army. Our defense, however, must be supplemented by statements refuting in detail the many charges, cited above, against our troops. But, exempting the most important charges, which have been disposed of,[1] it is an impossibility during the course of the war to disprove them entirely, as most careful and exacting investigations would have to be made by committees composed of men from both the plaintiff and the defendant side, in order to convince even our enemies. And, then, it is doubtful whether, after so many months, fair and true affidavits could be obtained from the defeated parties, full of

1 Rosenberg 49-69.

hatred and prejudice against the victors. Instead of attempting at this time to arrive, by direct examination, at conclusive evidences, we will endeavor to portray in a condensed form the religious life and care of souls in our army. The contents of this book, however, will be confined to the conditions of the western army in France and Belgium. The matter of our defense should prove of benefit to every reader. Our hostile critics, and those inclined to believe their slanderous accusations (without first obtaining positive proofs, which can probably never be secured), should form their own opinion from the facts contained herein, and consider if such soldiers could conduct a *methodical* and *systematic* war against Catholic churches and priests.[2]

We will place the allegations and indictments side by side with the powerful examples of Christian prayer, sentiment and practice to be found in the ranks of the Catholic soldiery in the field, and leave it to our readers to judge for themselves if a tree of this type could bear such poisonous fruit whose very touch causes everything Catholic and Christian, in fact, everything pertaining to religion to decay and to die!

Already in *times of peace,* the *military pastoral care* is to us a matter of great importance and special attention. It is self-evident, of course, that the Church arranges this, but the State also does its share to make a success of it. In Germany the people are of the conviction that in army service, which is a common and moral obligation and an act of patriotism, religion is an essential and natural part. How different in France, "where the care of souls in the army was discontinued in the year 1880 by a vote of 342 against 111, and the Minister of War sanctioned this act, claiming that religion and discipline cannot be combined."[3] During the last decade, we have undertaken to conduct spiritual retreats for our young men before they enlist, to prepare them in a fitting manner and to give them from a purely Christian standpoint a clear idea of the soldierly duties they are about to assume. These retreats for recruits, originated by P. Runkel, S. J., and highly recommended at Catholic conventions and Eucharistic Congresses, and promoted by the deceased Army-Bishop Vollmar, in the year 1913 embraced in more than sixty towns, almost 13,000 recruits in all stations of life, i. e., 13% of all Catholics entering the army. In larger cities, such as Essen, 25% of all the recruits made the retreat. Thousands of letters, written by soldiers to their former retreat-masters, especially now during the war, prove the splendid results that have been obtained. Besides retreats there are also missions for the recruits, from 12,000 to 20,000 taking part in one year.[4] Moreover, a

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[2] Cf., above, the verdict of a neutral, Karl Hildebrand, on the official Belgian reports. Chapt. 9, p.

[3] J. Freisen, Das Militär-Kirchenrecht in Heer und Marine des Deutschen Reiches etc. (Paderborn 1913) 376.

[4] According to reports furnished by P. M. Neusester, S. J., from the "Bonifatiushaus" near Emmerich.

large percentage of these recruits, after leaving the elementary schools, had remained in continuous touch with the religious life; for, in the continuation and vocational schools religious instruction is, as a rule, obligatory, and religious-moral education is one of the principle objects of our societies for journeymen, workingmen, clerks, merchants, etc. (These societies must not be confounded with the trades unions; while these aim at the economic betterment, the former,—to some extent, a kind of an auxiliary for the unions,—have in view the intellectual, religious and moral uplift of their members.—Translator's note.) Continuation and vocational schools, vocational societies on a religious foundation, spiritual retreats,—no one will deny that our recruits are well prepared when entering military service. During the time of military training, the spiritual welfare of the soldiers is taken care of in a definitely regulated manner. The religious affairs of the army differ in the various States;[5] Prussia has the best system, with its large number of army-chaplains headed by an army-bishop, who has direct charge of the pastoral care of the army. The commissioned priests are in the rank of officers, in order that their authority be the surer respected. Pastoral care has a twofold object: to make it easy for the soldier, and to encourage him, to fulfill his religious duties; and to develop his good traits of character and permeate his military life with Christian spirit.

It is only natural that the *religious influence upon the soldiers,* which is already so highly appreciated and exercised in times of peace, is *doubled* by Church and State in *time of war,* when the highest form of idealism, the greatest degree of enthusiasm, the constant preparedness for death, and the bravest endurance of the great agony, is more essentially necessary and valuable. Priests and religion are surely required here, if ever. And soon after the outbreak of the war, when the army was enlarged to six times its former size, the chaplains of the different divisions received abundant aid from non-commissioned priests who volunteered to go to the front. Besides this, a large number of priests were assigned to the military hospitals and some even to the hospital trains. According to the report of the Catholic Chaplain General in the Prussian army, there were active in the year 1915 (in the East and West) 114 commissioned army division pastors, 159 non-commissioned volunteer army-chaplains, 91 priests in the etappen-hospitals, besides 24 priests active in the garrisons in Belgium. For Bavaria, according to official information, the enrollment in the beginning of the year 1915 was as follows: 13 commissioned army chaplains, 12 non-commissioned field chaplains, and 145 non-commissioned chaplains in the field hospitals and hospital trains. During the ensuing summer the

5 Cf. J. Freisen, l. c., 67 ff.

total of Bavarian army-chaplains was increased to 200. The entire number of priests under the jurisdiction of the two field provostships is approximately 600.[6] There should be added to this total the hundreds of Catholic priests who belong to the ambulance corps, mainly commissioned to do pastoral work in the hospitals.

The *peculiarity of the care of souls in this war,* where the soldiers have permanently settled down in "cities en-miniature," is that the duties of the clergy are almost like those of a parish priest, since they have certain district limits. By the regular changing of troops from the trenches to the resting-places, almost regular pastoral care is possible. In regular intervals each division of troops can attend divine services with Confession, Communion, sermon and singing. One chaplain writes: "On horseback, in wagons, or automobiles, we travel from place to place to perform our priestly duties. In the demolished village church, in the stately old cathedral, in a forlorn barn, in the room of a house, in the forests, at the altar of an automobile chapel, in the dug-outs a few hundred yards distant from the enemy, the priest celebrates Holy Mass, preaches, hears Confession and ministers to the sick and dying." The field telephones and telegraphs communicate to the chaplain the possibilities and time of divine service. On certain days, particularly Sundays, he has two or even three services. He is on the constant "go" day and night, either on horseback, or by wagon and automobile. One chaplain wrote to his bishop: "I arise at 3, 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning, according to the distance I am destined to go, after hearing Confessions until after midnight the night before, and then ride or drive with my valise (containing the necessary articles for the celebration of the Holy Mysteries and the administering of the Sacraments) to this or to that battalion, company, battery, squadron, etc., and often do not break my fast until noon or 1 o'clock. At the outposts, Holy Mass is celebrated in the darkness, very early in the morning, when only 20 to 30 men can attend, while the others have to remain on duty. Often an intermission of an hour is ordered, and in the meantime the soldiers relieve each other, and Confession, Mass, a short sermon and Holy Communion follow; or a Mass is said the next day so as to allow those to attend who were unable to do so on the first day. Protestant comrades often take the Catholic soldiers' places in order to enable the latter to go to services."

This laborious work of the clergy is superintended by a prefect and specially assigned chaplains in the various stations on the lines of communication. Regular conferences are held among these priests for the purpose of exchanging opinions and comparing their experiences, and thus

[6] We could not ascertain how many of these field-chaplains belong to religious orders. Of the Bavarian orders, 50 members are assigned to pastoral duties in the field and in hospitals.

devising means for coping more successfully with the various problems placed before them. The benign results of this activity are everywhere manifest, and are unreservedly recognized, as is shown by the awarding of Iron Crosses to many priests, among them Bishop M. v. Faulhaber of Speyer, who is the idol of the soldiers. Our great neutral friend, Sven Hedin, writes of our priests at the front: "Army chaplains are in a class by themselves. They are always cheerful, always wide awake, self-sacrificing and dauntless. They are the soldiers' priests, they preach for the living, and comfort and console the dying."[7]

The soldiers entrusted to their care were already *kindly disposed* toward the cause of religion, and the outbreak of the war brought about an even stronger religious enthusiasm among our Christian people. Beginning with the Emperor and the confederate princes, a powerful wave of lively faith in God and hope in His justice and His protection in this defensive war spread over the whole of Germany. All our active troops and those called to the colors, realizing that every battle would be a matter of life and death with each and every one, prepared and fortified themselves for the worst by the reception of the Sacraments. The confessional and communion rail at home and in the garrisons were thronged during mobilization. Privates, officers, academics, workingmen and peasants,—all wended their steps in one direction. They, who had apostatized did not, of course, receive the Sacraments, but even of them very many were converted after the first battle. "With death all around, our thoughts—voluntarily or involuntarily—turn to the Great Beyond which is to receive the soul after the death of the body." The appeal of the military chaplains in brief, simple, touching addresses and exhortations, as well as the example given by the soldiers praying aloud in the trenches during the terrible cannonades and during the brief periods of rest, together with the horrible impressions of the battlefield, have in many thousands overcome much of the indifference and the repugnance to God and religion. The numerous requests for the Sacraments in days after battle could scarcely be satisfied. And this condition prevailed for weeks and weeks.

The horrors of the open combat were multiplied by the treacherous dangers of the *franctireur warfare.* "When the Belgian army retreated, after obstinate fighting, the Belgian civilians endeavored in every conceivable manner to prevent the German advance, and attempted to deplete and weaken the German columns by cunning and cowardly attacks. Belgian civilians of every profession, age and sex, in bitter hatred and fury took part in assaulting the German ranks; this has been ascertained by

7 Sven Hedin, Ein Volk in Waffen, p. 248. (Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1915.)

duly attested and overwhelming evidence in the hands of the Germans."[8] Under these circumstances it was the sacred duty of the German commanders responsible for the lives of the soldiers, to take resolute measures against this illegitimate and sneaky warfare. It is only natural that the troops advancing into unoccupied territory kept the clergy, on account of its far-reaching influence, under close surveyance. Our soldiers would not have been soldiers if they had not, in a spirit of self-defense, resented such attacks and avenged themselves on the Belgians for the treacherous assassination of their comrades. Owing to the rapidity of the advance, it is but natural that mistakes and even severities occurred, and that legitimate summary punishments were occasionally shared alike by the innocent and the guilty. Such occurrences can hardly be entirely avoided in the regular course of a war, much less in franctireurs-warfare against organized armies. Such is guerilla-warfare! Those who desired this kind of warfare and brought it on, have forfeited the right to complain of its inevitable results!

It has been asserted that the Germans purposely *sent Protestant regiments into Catholic Belgium,* while the Catholic troops were sent to fight Catholic Poland and Orthodox Russia (A 4). This is not true. There are regiments with comparatively few Catholics, just as there are some regiments which comprise comparatively few Protestants, according to the part of Germany in which they enlisted,—but there are no "Protestant regiments." And besides, why should one have expected the German Catholic troops to advance against the Catholic Belgians with less bravery than against the Catholic Poles in Russia, and the Protestant regiments to attack Catholic Belgium with greater fury than Catholic Poland? We should like to hear a convincing answer to this question. Furthermore, conceding the possibility of the Protestants in the advance guard of the German armies outnumbering the Catholics,—any sensible man will admit that our General Staff had more important matters in hand during the first few days of the war—which by its suddenness had overtaken our expectations—than to fuss and bother with such insignificant trifles. Ask any man of military training what a task it would be in the strenuous days of mobilization to carry out the selection of troops according to the considerations which the French Album imputes to our army command. The simple fact is that in the very first regiments sent into Belgium, there were many Catholic Rhinelanders, Westphalians, Poles, and Bavarians.

We will not deny, of course, that depraved and even criminal elements are found in an organization numbering millions, even though it enjoy the well-merited fame of being the best disciplined army in the

[8] From the memorial of the Department of the Exterior, May 10th, 1915, Cf., above, chapt. 9.

world. Nor will we deny that there are in the German army infidels and enemies of religion. One field chaplain writes: "I, too, have knelt before robbed tabernacles. I will not deny such occurrences, although on investigation things usually appear in a different light than at first glance. There are doubtless soldiers in our army of millions who are not worthy to wear the Kaiser's uniform. But such exceptions can surprise no one." We do not hesitate to brand such soldiers as a stain to the army and commend the discipline which inflicts severest punishments upon the apprehended culprits. The swift and effective justice meted out by military courts proves that our army is not a horde of devils; that it is rather a gigantic organization which, though a model of discipline, of religious and self-sacrificing spirit, has to pay its tribute to human weakness. By the above statements and those to be made later, referring to the radical and base elements in our army, we want to impress the fact that we do not ignore nor excuse existing evils; but at the same time we want to show them in their true light and reduce the exaggerated and unsustained accusations to the level realities. Two phases of the question we will dispose of immediately. First, the Belgian bishops themselves acknowledged that they had no information of any nuns in their dioceses having been outraged.[9] And second, it is an obvious untruth that practically all the churches in Flanders and in the Walloon provinces were destroyed by the Germans (A-6). On the military roads, all the wayside statues of the Blessed Virgin still stand unharmed. Even some which stood in the middle of the road were carefully spared. "Catholics and non-Catholics alike, stepped aside and walked over the fields. Sometimes delays were caused, but no one even thought of removing the statues." This might seem like a trivial circumstance, but it is a significant feature. Of course, on the firing line churches have been destroyed, or used for military purposes. But the German soldiers have dealt alike with Catholic and Protestant houses of worship. Nor have the English and French acted otherwise (Cf. chapter 9). This clearly indicates that most of the mischief was done because war and necessity demanded it, and *not because of any religious antipathy.* The diaries of our soldiers go to prove that places of worship were purposely saved by our soldiers.[10] In Martinpuich (in Northern France) they did even more. There the church steeple had fallen and lay as a mass of ruins before the main entrance of the church, repairs being impossible under the French anti-Catholic laws. Though the parish still had a resident priest, no one had ever endeavored to remove the debris,—that work was left to our soldiers. In the spring of 1915, they set to work and

9 Rosenberg, 67.
10 Cf., above, chapt. 9.

cleared the church entrance, heaping the stones on both sides and forming high walls. No Frenchman lent a helping hand. After several days of tedious work, one of the walls gave way,—and the Frenchmen scoffed and laughed at the Kaiser's soldiers. But the German haters of churches and priests resumed their task with renewed energy and repaired the damage a second time.

It was impossible to maintain *regular pastoral care of the troops* during the time of their advance into France and Belgium. That could be regulated only when the weary *trench warfare,* rigorously testing the strength of body and soul, had begun. It is particularly during these strenuous months, when body and soul are being tried beyond mortal patience and endurance, that the influence of the religious spirit proves of inestimable value in stimulating and preserving the men's courage, fortitude and perseverance. The soldier who believes in God, performs his duty because he perceives in it also a duty towards God, his Omniscient Judge. It was, therefore, a great blessing for our soldiers that regular pastoral care could be accorded at this particular time.

When the monotonous life in the trenches began, the soldiers, who for weeks had found it impossible to hear Mass or to receive the Sacraments, begged for such privileges. They actually hungered for divine services. The churches everywhere were jammed to the doors. "Nearly all soldiers received Holy Communion," a captain writes, "the priests being forced to divide the hosts continually." One chaplain relates: "Practically all Catholic soldiers came, and many had to wait hours for their turn to go to Confession." When the crowds were too great, general absolution was given. "There were in all not less than 700 communicants," writes another chaplain. "Whole companies in their full numerical strength approached the Sacraments in a body." This was the beginning of the pastoral care in the trenches. The pastoral care and the religious life of the soldiers in trench warfare are dependent on, and influenced by, the imminence and greatness of danger. In accordance with these points of view, three different zones of activity must be considered: 1. The conditions in the firing line and in the first reserve lines; 2. the conditions in the resting camps; and 3. the situation along the lines of communication.

In the first, which is the *immediate danger-zone,* in the *trenches* and *foremost batteries,* the spiritual care must be confined to the most essential,—a few whispered words of consolation passed from man to man, and the administering of the Sacraments when necessary. Since divine service for the reserve troops which at any moment may be called into action, can be held only with great difficulty, it might happen, for military reasons, that the soldiers at these points would for a long time be

without divine service. But even though the priest cannot be continually on hand to offer the consolations of religion, the momentary danger of death exerts a most salutary influence on the men. This is an especially wonderful remedy for the negligent and indifferent, and advances and develops conversions most effectively, while in other instances stimulating the cultivation of religious life. The anticipation of an enemy attack or a bayonet charge is always marked by increased religious fervor. In this disposition of the mind religious literature always finds eager and grateful readers in the trenches, and reaches men whom the chaplains can visit only seldom, if ever,—those in the advanced trenches, in the dark dugouts, or in various other forlorn huts and nooks giving shelter to our soldiers. Besides appreciating religious reading, the soldiers, especially those from southern Germany, love to pray the Rosary. In pious meditation on the Passion, the death and glorious resurrection of our Redeemer, they obtain the wonderful strength necessary to suffer patiently the excruciating agony to which they are sometimes subjected. This is particularly true of those tribes who have been recently accused by the French as being "instinctively brutal." In the face of these calumniators, it is of no purpose to cite dozens of instances where these very same soldiers proved themselves real Samaritans, heroically succoring the wounded foe, exhibiting an almost motherly love and tenderness, and, in so doing, winning appreciation even from many of our enemies.

It is in accord with this deep sentiment that the soldiers, lacking sacerdotal services, conduct *services and prayer-meetings among themselves.* Under the direction of their commanders they even erect chapels and small churches in the forests, or in the shelled towns in the rear of the firing line. Like little children these men, fully armed, kneel before the crude altars and forest-shrines and pray, earnestly and devoutly. They actually conduct Perpetual Adoration in some places! Over one of the forest-chapels, according to a letter I received from a chaplain, the soldiers put the inscription: "The German Warriors' Dearest Spot." Is it possible that these soldiers destroy and desecrate Catholic churches intentionally? *No,* is the only answer to this question. "Of the abundance of their hearts, their tongues speak." They often talk of religious things, and seek information about matters which they do not entirely comprehend. Here the members of the "Gesellenverein" (Journeymen's Society, 60,000 members being in the field), the workingmen's societies, and especially the many brothers of religious orders and the 15,000 members of Catholic student societies, as well as the students of theology, are doing real missionary work, and have been very successful. Many who in private life had been indifferent, and even infidels, are stirred to compunction by the constant danger, deprivation and suffering in the

trenches, and turn to the Almighty, realizing that there is no such thing as chance; that there is a Ruler of the Universe in Whose hands man's fate rests. A great number of educated men and Socialists found the way home to the Church and her Sacraments. But still greater number may have concealed their conversion. "Religion is an interior matter," writes a student in the field, "and I believe that almost everyone reconciles himself with his God in the quiet of his soul. Little can the man lying asleep at one's side, or those holding watch at the outposts, know what is going on within the heart of his neighbor. In almost every case the prayers which are said come from the depths of a humble and reconciled heart."

These statements regarding *hidden religion* are important factors when the extent of the religious revival is at issue. Up to this time, little or nothing has been said or written about this phase of the religious life in our army. *Most of the religious awakenings in the soldiers are not reported,* and go down with them into their graves as secrets, or are confided only to their most intimate friends. It is only when these conditions are taken into consideration, that a correct estimate can be given of the religious spirit that characterizes the *letters* of thousands of soldiers. Their revelations cover only a small percentage of the religious revival and fervor among our troops. What a mighty stream of religious sentiment it must be, if these many thousand disclosed instances indicate only to a small extent the actual conditions. Besides these letters from the soldiers themselves, we have the *letters from the chaplains* whose idea of the religious disposition and sentiments of many soldiers is based on observations made in the administration of the sacraments. The *official reports of the field-chaplains* to their superiors are of great value, and I have gleaned from them much important information.[11] These reports prove that there is, in general, an ardent desire for divine services and the receiving of the sacraments, as well as for sermons and religious literature; wherever these wants can be supplied, the soldiers' moral conduct and military discipline are excellent. Frequently, the soldiers at the reserve stations ask to be given an opportunity to receive the sacraments. "Hundreds of those who had been relieved from duty in the trenches, made use of their furlough by going to confession. They stood in long rows in a forest clearing. The confessional consisted of a saddle propped up on a wood pile. On the following day, they received holy communion. . . . When mass was nearly over, another column of soldiers hurriedly approached the forest. . . . I celebrated mass once more, and again distributed holy communion."

[11] I owe special thanks to the Rt. Rev. bishops of Paderborn and Rottenburg and to Canon Dr. Buchberger in Munich, the official reporter for the Bavarian Catholic pastoral care in the fields.

There are, of course, periods of *enervation and mental depression;* the men are unable to think; all mental powers seem to be paralyzed by the privations, the hardships, and the horrible adventures in the trenches. One becomes indifferent towards everyone and everything, even religion. Moreover, it is but natural that life in the trenches has an all but auspicious effect on those in whom religion has been dormant, or comparatively extinct. Neither fear nor necessity will produce faith where religious nihilism holds sway. That depression of mind, however, is seldom experienced; and cases of absolute indifference towards religion are exceptional, and do not materially affect the general condition.

When the soldiers retire from the trenches to the *repose camps* a few kilometers behind the front, a relaxation of the mental faculties sometimes takes place; but this is only human and natural when body and soul have been for weeks at high tension. The effects of this reaction upon the religious life differ according to character and temper of the soldiers. Many of them, after being removed from the immediate danger-zone, make light of discipline and morality. One and the other ventures to scoff at the "pious" comrades, and rudeness, lewdness and egotism assert themselves and mar the general impression of touching self-sacrifice and heroic devotion to duty. Such cases are exceptions, and not the rule. Many soldiers, returning exhausted and weary from the trenches, walk to the silent little village church, often in the middle of the night and offer their thanks to God Who so graciously protected them. On the following day, they receive holy communion. . . . Some go to the sacraments regularly every week, others every fortnight, and very many even more frequently. A chaplain writes of his experience early in November: "It is here that one can learn the real meaning of pastoral care. The confidence of the men is beyond description. Wherever I go, I am surrounded by scores of men who are thankful for every word. So far, I have distributed 14,000 communions to 8,200 men." "The officers give their men a most beautiful example by frequently going to the sacraments," say several Bavarian chaplains. "Many officers appreciate the work of the chaplains very highly and lend their support, even though some of them do not attend services themselves. It is but natural that the officers of an army like ours show respect and consideration for religious matters; the most brilliant and most successful military leaders and, above all, our illustrious Emperor have again and again professed profound religious sentiment, confidence in God, humility and piety. The private devotions in honor of the Blessed Virgin which the soldiers conduct in May and October, are very impressive. The lonesome village churches are dimly lighted by a few flickering candles. The soldiers pray and sing, ending the simple and yet so touching services with

a pious hymn. Often, you may find in a church several hundred soldiers meditating and praying aloud." Often, the soldiers in the quarters finish the day, praying and singing before going to sleep. The Sunday and holyday attendance at the churches, though not compulsory by army-orders, is enormous. The churches, appropriately decorated, are always crowded to the doors. "In V.," an army-chaplain writes, "the church has been transformed into a hospital and for this reason I celebrated mass in the sacristy. But the good people, each and every one of them, wanted to attend, and asked to have divine service in the church. They worked with childlike joy from morning till night. The floors were cleaned, altars and walls washed, and everything decorated with flowers and foliage." It is preposterous to assume that such men as these would deliberately and maliciously defile churches, profane the sacred vessels, or that they would even tolerate anything of that kind. "All soldiers agree when speaking with enthusiasm of the inspiring and impressive effects of the German songs during divine service. It is here that the old Catholic hymns show their psychological force. Almost everyone comes to church and officers and privates, scores upon scores, go to holy communion. And we witness this soul-stirring spectacle Sunday after Sunday. Those who cannot attend, grieve at their mishap." I have read hundreds of letters which speak of these services with deep emotion and great enthusiasm.

The soldiers take an especial delight in describing, in their letters to the folks at home, the celebration of the principal holydays, and usually add some pertinent admonitions. The celebration of Christmas, of course, holds the front rank; then, too, Holy Week and Easter with their sacred commemoration of the suffering and glorious resurrection of our Lord. On the feast of peace and good will, services were held even in the trenches. Reports I have before me, go to show that but very few men intentionally neglected their Easter duty; in some regiments, not one man stayed behind. Again on Pentecost and Corpus Christi, exceedingly large numbers received the holy sacraments. Hundreds and thousands partook of the Bread of Life. As stated before, on every holyday the churches are decked with flowers, foliage and evergreen branches; it is on Corpus Christi, however, that our soldiers show their love of the Divine Redeemer in a manner most touching. Nature and taste combine to adorn the churches, the altars and the streets through which the procession passes. The soldiers, devoutly praying and singing, follow the Blessed Sacrament. The French populace witnesses in surprise the grandiose spectacle. Since ten years or more, the French law forbids processions of this kind—these "German barbarians and enemies of Catholicism" had to come to "Catholic" France, to restore one of the most beautiful manifestations of the Catholic religion! Descriptions of

all these festal celebrations in the field would fill volumes. I sincerely regret that space will not permit to give a detailed account of the many traits of piety and fervent devotion to our Redeemer which we are witnessing on all sides. One instance, at least, I shall not pass over in silence,—the celebration of All Souls' Day. It was a festival in honor of the dead as it can be celebrated only in times of war, immediately behind the front,—in commemoration of the many thousand comrades who died for their country. The graves of all the fallen were covered with wreaths, flowers and fir branches. Devout prayers were offered for the dead and for the deliverance of the living. Our troops, without exception, show a truly remarkable reverence towards the dead. Every grave is marked by a substantial cross of oak or birch wood; fenced in with a neat border of stones or sod; and adorned with flowers from home. The graves of the fallen foe are looked after with the same loving care. All this is being done by our men of their own volition. And it is of the conditions in close proximity to the firing-line of which we speak! "Our men, often under the deadly fire of the enemy and exposing themselves to danger of life, exhume their dead comrades, as well as the dead of the French, and bury them in our beautifully laid out cemeteries. The French, on the other hand, often show, under similar conditions, a great lack of love and respect for their fallen brethren." (We are quoting from a cavalry captain's letters and leave it to our readers to reconcile the conduct and the deeds of the "anti-Christian barbarians" with the calumniations hurled at them.) Military service in days of rest, while not as rigid as in the trenches, takes up most of the soldier's time. Therefore, only a few spare hours remain for religious matters. But these brief breathing spells are used all the more zealously. For, the men know that they soon will return into the trenches, to face again the horrors and anxieties of trench warfare. Many receive holy communion once more before leaving the repose camps. Often, all troops communicate in a body after mass and general absolution. Thus prepared, they march to the firing-line, "with God" to battle for Kaiser and country.

We do not mean to paint an ideal, but to state things plainly as they are. For this reason, we add the following facts. Trench warfare, in spite of its horrors, becomes monotonous and a matter of habit with the soldiers. Naturally, it becomes, by and by, enervating not only physically, but also for the soul and the religious life of many soldiers. Dreadful and horrible things appear trivial to them. The soldiers would not be human, if the unceasing recurrence of the same terrible events would react on them in a different manner. "The primitive enthusiasm is waning," a division chaplain wrote to me a short time ago. The spontaneous relig-

ious enthusiasm called forth by patriotism, the appeal to the Just God, and the imminent danger of death,—this exultant rapture of the first months of terrible battling has given way to a more sober religious practice, much like that at home. The men fulfill their religious duties in a regular and normal manner; and the field-chaplains do their work methodically, paying attention to the minutest detail. However, this slackening down to the average state of religious affairs, reflects by no means the general situation. We have the assurances of many that the extraordinary religious ardor continues unabated. To quote just one witness,—a divisional chaplain wrote to me as follows: "It is touching to behold the great devotion of our men in receiving holy communion. I never realized, as I now do when seeing the soldiers at the communion rail, that even a long war cannot deprave the really devout. At the present time (August, 1915), things are much the same as during the first months of the struggle." It is significant that, in spite of the indefatigable activity of the very numerous army chaplains, many soldiers complain of insufficient spiritual care. We mention this merely as a welcome proof that religious zeal is persevering to this day.

The same conditions prevail among the troops on the *lines of communication and on the march.* Here, too, we find slackness as well as perseverance of religious zeal. However, there being no immediate danger of life, and the duties being less stringent and temptations more numerous, the practice of religion is sooner jeopardized. On the whole, only those that were really pious at home, continue to be so; while those who were indifferent and negligent at home, return to their old mode of living. Those who entirely avoided church in times of peace, usually do the same on the military road. Still, there are many delightful exceptions. While we encounter indifference in its different stages, infidelity, voluptuousness, and even immorality, we also meet with many edifying examples of deep piety. Unfortunately, some of the Belgian and French cities, with their notorious immoral life, have become very pitfalls for many a German mother's son. Many of our soldiers, mostly simple and unsuspecting people and in many instances unnerved by the hardships of trench life, and ensnared by the insidious Gallic elegance, fell a prey to the allurements, temptations and corruptions.

Hence, there is a great field for pastoral care of the troops along the lines of communication. The priest must employ extraordinary methods, and must seek to exert his influence in the *soldiers' homes* or club houses which offer harmless recreation, rest, diversion and instruction, and promote the moral uplift in general. With the practical aid of the Federation of Catholic Young Men's Societies in Duesseldorf, ninety soldiers' homes have already been established on the western and

eastern fronts; some seventy of these are on the western front. New homes are erected almost every week. The German bishops have encouraged this work by donating large sums of money, and the Catholic young men's societies throughout Germany have obtained substantial aid for this noble cause. The scope of the chaplains' influence is thus being gradually and surely extended.

There is another agency of which the chaplain must avail himself to produce the greatest possible results, along the communication lines as well as on the firing-line and in the repose camps—*reading matter for the soldiers.* The men in the trenches have not only become prolific letter writers, but also voracious readers. Writing and reading occupy their spare moments, which clearly indicates our soldiers' high standard of intelligence as well as the necessity of mental food. Correspondence and reading have long since become one of the chief means by which the soldiers and their relatives at home are kept in touch with each other. It is this close mental union between the army and the folks at home which goes to show that our soldiers are of the self-same blood and spirit as we. Just as the German people is a nation of soldiers, so the army is, in the fullest sense of the word, "an army of the people." The German army is the German people. Their whole domestic existence, not excepting their practice of religion, is reflected, and continued, in the life in the trenches. The painful separation from the loved ones at home is practically bridged over by the enormous quantity of reading matter, which is distributed by our field-post, one of the greatest benefactors of our soldiers. A mighty stream of home influence, home love and religious devotion,—not mentioning the reading rooms, army libraries, field bookstores, etc., established by the army authorities,—comes pouring in in thousands of rivulets upon the soldiers at the front.

These rivulets soon grow into large streams which carry with them great masses of literature. That is the result of work done by large Catholic organizations which have made it their task to distribute, free of charge, reading material in the field and hospitals. First of all,[12] I wish to give honorable mention to the "Arbeitsausschuss" of the Catholic Societies, with headquarters at Berlin, (the joint committee of the Caritasverband, the Borromaeusverein, the Volksverein of Catholic Germany, and the Malteserritter). Up to July 1915, this committee had distributed 2.2 million copies of religious books, among them 300,000 copies of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke. Over four million periodicals, booklets and circular letters, published by the Volksvereinsbureau in M.-Gladbach, have been sent out. Besides this, hundreds and

12 For all the information so kindly given me, I herewith again express my sincere thanks.

thousands of copies of social service and other pamphlets have been sent to the front. I also wish to mention the headquarters of the Borromaeusverein in Bonn, which up to August 1915 shipped almost 1.5 million religious books into the field. The Caritasverband and its diocesan branches make social betterment the particular object of their work. Nevertheless, they participate also in this activity and have donated many thousands of religious books. The Catholic press societies, especially the one in Munich, have also done their share, by sending Catholic newspapers and books. The "Bonifatiusdruckerei" in Paderborn has likewise shunned neither work nor sacrifice. Furthermore, there have been established in many dioceses, organizations with local committees in the various parishes, f. i. in Paderborn, Fulda, (where the "Bonifatiusbote" is sent out weekly in lots of 30,000 copies), Osnabrück and Ermland. In other dioceses, the ecclesiastical authorities have taken the matter in hand, as in Freiburg, Rottenburg, Bamberg, and Speyer. They send, for distribution, hundreds and thousands of religious publications and books to the army-chaplains. The Prussian and Bavarian Chaplains General of the army do the same. These immense quantities of reading matter have been partly donated, and partly bought with money which had been collected by popular subscriptions conducted with great success by the ecclesiastical authorities and by prominent German Catholic newspapers. (It may be interesting to know that our German Roman Catholic Central Society of America, early in the war, sent a considerable sum of money to Msgr. Count Spee to aid this noble cause.—Transl. note.) The "Kölnische Volkszeitung" alone, collected 36,000 Marks for the purchase of reading matter. The distribution of periodicals and publications is usually taken care of by the army chaplains, aided by automobile chapels—three of which have been built by the Bonifatiusverein, while four have been purchased with funds collected by the "Kölnische Volkszeitung." There are many other channels through which this flood of salutary literature flows. Chief among these is the correspondence by means of which the parish priests continually keep in touch with their parishioners in the field, thousands of letters being sent out by them to the soldiers every fortnight. The Catholic societies also communicate with their members, and send to them scores of books, pamphlets and periodicals. I wish to mention the Catholic Students' Societies, the sodalities in the universities and colleges, the bureau of social activity for the students in M.-Gladbach, and the literary gifts to their students by the professors at the universities. I also wish to commend the young men's associations, the apprentices', the journeymen's, the workingmen's and the teachers' societies, as well as the Third Order. These and countless others supply their members regularly with religious literature

There are still other tributaries to the supply of wholesome reading matter that are not more than rills in comparison, but of which there are many thousands. And that which these carry forth to the men in the fields is the most important of all. They comprise the letters and reading matter, selected according to the individual tastes of the recipients, from relatives and friends. It may not be amiss to add that I have not included in my brief survey, the distribution of literature in the hospitals at home and in the prisoners' camps, and that I gave data only with reference to religious literature.

Where does this abundance of religious literature originate? It would again require a book to answer this question. The diversified *literary prolificness* of *the Catholic clergy* is remarkable. Bishops and university professors, students of theology and newly ordained assistant priests—they all feel that they must minister, at least in spirit, by means of the printed word, to the faithful in the field and at home in this time of a thousand trials and problems. It is extremely difficult to choose one or the other name from the many hundreds before us. One, however, must be mentioned here, a name that many thousand soldiers utter reverently and with grateful hearts. It is the name of Heinrich Mohr, of whom we speak. Of Father Mohr's war sermons, under the title "Die Stimmen der Heimat," approximately five million copies have been distributed among the German troops. Such an insatiable desire for religious literature can only issue from a healthy mental condition. This symptom is almost as reliable as is the frequency of the reception of the sacraments. Countless letters of gratitude which soldiers of all professions and ranks have written, prove the correctness of our contention. They also give assurance that the effect of this literature is by no means insignificant. The following communication is very characteristic: "Without previous notice, we were ordered one day to inspect the knapsacks of a company, to ascertain the character of reading matter. The pleasing and consoling result was that more than eighty per cent of the literature found, was of a religious character."

Similar conclusions can be drawn from the reports on the religious disposition of the troops along the lines of communication and of the armies on the roads. Sven Hedin has the following to say: "This war is not only conducted with rifles and cannons, but also with the weapons of piety and prayer."[13] We have it on the testimony of several army chaplains that many soldiers of the Landwehr receive holy communion daily; on Sunday, there is general communion, the officers taking the lead; "only one of about 14,000 soldiers who came through here, has not

13 "Ein Volk in Waffen" (Large Edition), p. 461.

received the sacraments." The religious zeal of the Bavarians receives general recognition. Where no priest is available, the troops on the communication lines conduct services of their own. Our men often save dilapidated churches from complete destruction and sacrifice their spare time, to put them in better condition. Sometimes, the French clergy receive German money for their churches, and sacred vessels rescued from shelled churches by the German soldiers at the risk of their lives. Such are the horrifying deeds of the "German barbarians" filled with hatred of religion and lusting for destruction!

Often, the religiosity, politeness and good morals of our soldiers have been *attested to and praised by French priests and laymen.* The powerful and soul inspiring hymns which the German soldiers sing in church, and the profound German piety find particular favor with the French who not seldom, with a feeling of shame, contrast the conduct of our soldiers with that of their own compatriots. The pastor of St. Martin in Laon, for instance, on October 18th, 1914, wrote in his diary:[14] "For the second time, the Germans have conducted solemn services in our church; their men came even in larger numbers than on the previous Sunday. All nooks and side aisles were packed with soldiers who prayed with great reverence and edification. 'Yes, this is the source of their strength,' a well-known resident of our city remarked when I passed him. And why is this not also our strength?" On December 26th, 1914, he wrote: "The zeal of the German Catholics has not diminished. They attended mass on St. Stephen's day in increased numbers." On March 28th, he wrote: "The Germans were in church this morning at 5 o'clock to attend to their Easter duty. It must be acknowledged that they actually filled the church. At 9 o'clock mass the pastor pleaded with his parishioners that they, too, should attend to their Easter duty and obey the commandment of the Church. Will they heed his admonitions?" It is touching to hear the French pastors address our soldiers in German, because they have found them to be sincere and pious Catholics. After services, held in a French town with a dilapidated church (the conditions in France in times of peace have caused the dilapidation!), the curé went to the communion rail and said to his parishioners: "I shall not keep you here long; for, the German soldiers have already preached you a sermon. The Germans are our enemies, it is true; but men and soldiers who, with their officers in the lead, sanctify the Lord's day as they do . . . , and profess their faith,—all this calls forth our admiration, and when we think of the state of affairs in our own country, sadness fills our hearts. . . ." Here is the opinion of a French physician: "After our government

[14] Taken from the French original, by Dr. Weinand. "Kölnische Volkszeitung," No. 530 of July 2nd, 1915.

exiled our religious and confiscated their convents, the religious of the enemy enter the desecrated places, and restore them to their original purpose. In fact, it is remarkable that the Germans, wherever they go, seek the churches or erect chapels, conduct divine service, sing and pray!"

The religious spirit is also publicly expressed in the *war journals* published by our men. I will cite only one example, taken from the "Liller Kriegszeitung" (No. 49). On the feast of the Ascension, this journal wrote: "Ascension Day conveys to us the glad tidings that this world is not the highest and best, but that there is another world where our conceits of time and space cease to exist. A reflection of that great world beyond brightened this world when our Lord Jesus Christ dwelled among us. He was always united with God and, therefore, wherever He went, there was heaven. . . . Even this earthly life will be heaven for all those who are at peace with God. This we can experience especially in times of war. . . . Heaven on earth—this is the preliminary condition, if we some day are to have our ascension." These are the thoughts of a layman. Do such sentiments flourish in the dominion of Wotan, of the "Kerndeutsche Gott Wotan?" (44.)

The German soldiers' daily *conduct* does not belie the religious sentiments expressed by the writer in the "Kriegszeitung." I will just superficially touch upon the mercy which the Germans show towards their enemies on the battlefield, towards the poor populace in the enemy's country, towards the wounded and prisoners. Hundreds of instances, which I have not the space to relate, prove that the example of the good Samaritan constantly actuates our soldiers. Where is the "hatred against Christ"? (46.)

And our soldiers *suffer* and *die* as Christians do. Again, lack of space prevents me from describing in detail the religious life and the pastoral care in the hospitals. This is of great importance because of the extraordinary percentage (about 90%) of the soldiers who, after being healed, are able to continue in active service. Since the latter part of November, 1914, in the home hospitals, spiritual retreats for the recuperating and slightly wounded soldiers are given with excellent results both from a religious and military standpoint.[15] Again, we would have enough material for a book, were we to attempt to relate the spiritual life of our wounded and dying soldiers in such a manner as to do justice to their Christian patience and renunciation, to their ready sacrifice of life and limb, to their sincere and confiding resignation unto the Almighty, and to their unshakable trust in the merits of the passion and death of Jesus.

We shall not weaken our statements by *generalizations*. It is, as we

[15] By P. Runkel, S. J., and his associates to whom I am indebted for information.

have repeatedly pointed out, a foregone conclusion that among the Catholic troops in our army, there are men whose religious and moral life is far from being exemplary. But by far the majority of our Catholic soldiers live, fight, and die under the sign of the Cross. This, I believe, is substantiated by the foregoing facts.

But, you might ask, what can be said of the 61 per cent of *Protestant soldiers.* I do not know whether the accusations of the French Catholics have shocked our Protestant compatriots sufficiently to call forth a defense on their part. Perhaps, they will bestir themselves, should the newly-formed committee of French Protestants publish a similar libel. A foretaste of it has already been given us by numerous diatribes of French Protestants who evidently do not wish to be excelled in patriotism by their chauvinistic Catholic fellow citizens. Of course, I will not anticipate any action of the German Protestants. But, at the same time, I deem it a patriotic duty to include in the defensive reply of the Catholics, a few words relative to the Protestants in our army; the more so because the French calumniations are really rather leveled at the Protestants, than at their Catholic brethren.

The space allotted to me precludes a detailed treatment of the question. Since, in accordance with the higher percentage of Protestant soldiers, the sources of information are still more abundant than the information relating to Catholic soldiers, it is very difficult to give a brief account. Our Protestant brethren have gathered and published an immense material; even extracts of letters of field-chaplains have been published in book-form.[16] Soldiers' letters of religious contents have also been compiled and published.

As an historian, I regret exceedingly that I must abstain from corroborating many of my statements by exact proofs. I feel this lack of historic exactitude in what I have to say now still keener than in the preceding paragraphs. But it would require a thick volume, were I to submit definite proofs for every statement. Hence, I must appeal to my Catholic readers in foreign countries to accept my statements as they stand and to be convinced that I weigh them with the conscientiousness of the historian as well as of the priest. (The author is a priest and professor of Church history at the University in Freiburg.—Transl. note.)

At the outset, I wish to state that, aside from the differences in religion, worship, and other peculiarities, the general tone, practice and condition of religious life among the Protestant soldiers are actually the same as among their Catholic comrades. Therefore, a repetition on this score may be dispensed with, and I shall neither repeat the many beauti-

[16] I am indebted to the Protestant field-provost of the Prussian army for these reports. They are published in "Mitteilungen für die evangelischen Geistlichen der Armee und Marine," 39 (1914) and 40 (1915).

ful and edifying characteristics, nor speak once more of the shortcomings in general. The former as the latter are, on the whole, the same with Catholics and Protestants.

The outbreak of the war has brought about an extraordinary increase of religious fervor in Protestant and Catholic Germany alike. Thousands and thousands of soldiers went to battle thoroughly imbued with this religious spirit. This spirit has been nurtured and cultivated by the *field-clergy*. There are, according to the information of the Evangelical provost of the Prussian army, 275 commissioned and non-commissioned clergymen (the corresponding number of Catholic priests being 273), and 115 chaplains in the hospitals on the communication lines (Catholic 91). Besides these, there are 28 Protestant military pastors in Belgium (Catholic 24); and the chaplains have, furthermore, at their disposal—for preaching, pastoral work, funeral services, communion services, etc.—222 clergymen assigned to military and hospital service, about as many examined theologians who have no curacy, and 84 non-theological members of institutions for the missions at home and abroad. The number of clergymen in the contingencies outside of Prussia is about 100.

I have taken the following from the official reports of the army-clergy. Of the beginning of the war (August), and from Belgium, where the terrible anti-Christian and anti-religious atrocities of the German troops are supposed to have taken place, it is reported that, "owing to a general request, more communion services are held. The supply of 7,000 hosts I had taken with me was soon exhausted, in spite of my frequently breaking them in halves. On Sunday, August 30th, I had 4,000 communicants. Entire regiments, not one man keeping aloof, partook of the Lord's Supper" (39, 171). "During a brief rest on the march, a group of 100 men pulled out their hymn-books. . . . The longer the singing continued, the more men joined in" (177). "In fact, strong confidence in God and joyous faith reign in the hearts of all our soldiers, officers as well as privates. . . . The religious spirit has deepened and an appreciation of that which is beyond the transitory and gives support in strife and death, has been augmented" (210). "No case of absolute rejection, or of any derision of the religious activity, is known to any clergyman. And, surely, there must be among those in the field, many who, in times of peace, boasted of being scorners of all religion. Their big words have become as chaff strewn about by the wind" (40, 3). "When military reasons do not prohibit, I now conduct daily services and communions, and I hope that by the end of next week every Protestant soldier will have had the opportunity of confession and communion. Everywhere there is a longing for confession and communion, which is shown by the fact that practically all men attending services remain for communion"

(18). But here, too, one must be very cautious not to generalize, without further data, individual observations. The statements in themselves give warning. "In my estimation, the religious movement in the army may only be discussed with the utmost discretion. . . . Without doubt, a religious undertone is audible to him who listens; still, much is lacking to swell this undertone to a *cantus firmus* dominating the war concert. . . . Even now, we have men who deliberately and resolutely proclaim the value of all religion to be negative" (62 f.).

Letters written in the field have often carried the waves of this general undertone to our ears. These letters, according to my experience, allow of a more reliable estimate of the average religious life, than the exceptionally unfavorable experiences of the writer just quoted. Neither here nor there, generalizations can be admitted. Of the rich contents of the soldiers' letters, I wish to point out two things which are especially characteristic of the spiritual life of the Protestant troops in the field—the hymns and the Bible.

It is almost surprising how many reports agree that the soldiers at the front, in the trenches, and dugouts, hunger after the *Scriptural Word of God.* When the soldiers took the field, relatives, friends, and pastors distributed among them thousands upon thousands of copies of the New Testament and the Psalms. The Prussian Bible Association, up to October 1914, disposed of nearly 87,000 Bibles, 54,000 of which were New Testaments; the privileged Bible Institute in Wurtemberg, until the beginning of December 1914, of almost 700,000 Bible extracts; the principal Bible Associations in Saxony and Baden of over 100,000 copies of Bibles, New Testaments and Bible parts. In all, according to a rough estimate, not less than two million New Testaments are in the hands of Protestant soldiers. Many officers use the New Testament to conduct, before battle, devotions with their soldiers. "A new lay-priesthood has been founded in the vast field parish. Officers and sub-officers, in the face of their responsibility, serve their soldiers with God's Word, and many soldiers serve one another with it. It is only now that we are getting to know the great numbers of good Christians in our army."[17] This Protestant layhelp and the Protestant laydevotions indicate, in a very decisive manner, the religious disposition of the troops. Everything is done of their own accord, and only what is really active in the heart, finds expression in deeds. Hundreds of beautiful examples could here be given.

The Protestant people, it is true, "live of the *hymnbook* rather than of the Bible; the hymnal can actually be considered the Bible and

[17] O. Eberhard, Gottes Wort im Felde und daheim (Berlin 1915) P. 32. The following are also extracts from this publication.

prayerbook of the Protestant populace." The abridged copy of the military hymnbook is, with the Protestant troops, part of the standing stock of the "knapsack library." The men, since their childhood days, know many of the hymns by heart. So it is, "that during bivouac and in quarters, during march and rest, at the interment of dear comrades and in hospitals, before battle and, especially, in the evening after a victorious battle, the German chorals and hymns give expression to the warriors' innermost feelings. They chant out in pious songs their confidence and trust in God, their joy and their thanks, their prayer and supplication, their tranquility of soul, their resoluteness and their unanimity." And these songs also cheer the individuals in private; as a prayer, they give strength and comfort in the trenches and at the sentinel stations. There are many who at first only stealthily and secretly used the songbook, and some who even caused disturbance during the singing of hymns by shouting and whistling. But now, they gladly take part in such "improvised hymn services." Countless testimonials bespeak the wonderful power which these hymns exert over our soldiers and also over the French civilians and soldiers.

Where can you find the exaltation and "the glory of Odin on the heights of the mountains and in the depths of souls"? (46.) All the songs, full of sincere entreaties, deep confidence in God and ardent gratitude, are directed to the Almighty God of the Christians, the God of the Christian Bible, and to His Only-Begotten Son, Jesus Christ, Who redeemed us by His death on the cross. Not one of the million songs which daily rise to the heavens, is sung in honor of Wotan, "the genuine German God" (44). Not one of the soldiers who carries the Gospel of the God of Christians in his knapsack, thinks of the heathen god; in fact, very few know of him, and those who do, have only an antiquarian, a scientific, interest in him.

The letters of the Protestant soldiers, too, testify a hundredfold that strong Christian moral conduct is in conformity with this Christian praying and singing. A captain of the reserves writes as follows: "A strong religious disposition can be found in our old boys. It was awakened within them by the thundering cannons, and is the foundation of the discipline of our troops." Another writes: "Our division chaplain has the gift of sound lecturing. When he is at it, most of them cannot restrain their tears. Truly, they have childlike hearts, these Germans have."

But we caution again lest one might infer from this sketch that each and every one of the Protestant soldiers is possessed of genuine religious spirit. In the army, the same conditions prevail as at home where the different members of the population practice religion in different degrees.

We find, here and there, agnostics and indifferentists enough. Still, neither is the German Protestant people a mob of atheists, nor are its soldiers a horde of infidels. The dependence of the Protestant soldier on the environment of home life is analogous to that of the Catholic soldier dealt with above. *And the home, with a thousand means and measures, keeps in close touch with the army.* It is utterly impossible to give here an extensive account of all that which has been done in support of the army-clergy's work. In attempting this, I would have to speak of the efforts of the established Evangelical Churches; of the Berlin central bureau for interior mission; of the newly founded "Committee for Support of Evangelical Military Pastoral Care in the Field"; of the Evangelische Bund; of the Bible Associations; of the provincial societies for interior mission; furthermore, of all that hundreds of Protestant societies have done by pecuniary donations, the erection of soldiers' homes, and, especially, by the distribution of literature; and again, of the influences achieved by the pastors keeping up regular correspondence with their parishioners in the field and sending them Sunday papers and parish papers, specially prepared leaflets with admonitions, consolations, and sermons.[18] Suffice it to say that the wealth and sterling quality of the work is similar to that of our Catholic work in this regard, of which I have spoken above.

Finally, I want to say a few words of the *relations between Catholic and Protestant soldiers and army-chaplains.* One of the many blessings we may expect from this horrible war, is a more sympathetic and thorough mutual understanding along religious lines. The relations between the Catholic and Protestant chaplains are based on mutual respect. They aid one another, coöperate with each other, as far as circumstances permit, and often joint conferences are held to discuss affairs of common interests. As far as the soldiers are concerned, the necessities of war have forced intimate association of Catholics and Protestants,—Brandenburgers and Bavarians, Wurtembergers and Rhinelanders, Saxons and Westphalians, Mecklenburgers and Badeners, etc. In this way, they get to know and to respect each others' religious thoughts and sentiments, faith and prayer. It is a matter of frequent occurrence that Catholic and Protestant soldiers talk about religion, pray together, and sing the songs which are familiar to all. In these times full of distress and fraught with death, religion and its expression becomes entirely elementary and natural. Danger and death form an invisible bond, and it affords comfort already if one, in

[18] The information has been furnished by the Evangelical Ober-Kirchenrat in Berlin and Karlsruhe. Valuable material is contained in the 42nd vol. of the Kirchl. Jahrbuch für die evangel. Landeskirchen Deutschlands. (Guetersloh, Bertelsmann 1915). My article was already in type when I received the Yearbook.

common with the comrades, only can raise his hands to the God of Providence.

Weighing the substance of this chapter, sketchy though it be, every unprejudiced reader ought to be convinced, at least of this, that the great majority of the German soldiers have strong *religious needs,* and that *they pray and live as Christians should.* Sven Hedin and another war reporter, the Italian, Cabasino-Renda, who represented the "Giornale d'Italia" in Berlin, are agreed on this point. The latter wrote in his paper as follows: "The *religious sentiment* appears to me, who adhere to no church, to be the *strongest force of the German army in this war.* It exalts these men who constantly face danger and death, to a spiritual height which frees them from the bondages of agony and labor. It is a boundless force rooted in the spiritual and there developing physical strength which knows no obstacles and counts no effort too great; a force that inspires heroism in the masses to a degree which hitherto seemed possible only in individuals. . . . Where is there, at the present time, an army that can muster up such a force? . . . Religiosity and an unshakable confidence in God cannot be acquired in a trice, no more than military discipline can be developed in a moment."[19] The atrocities against churches and priests, alleged to have been *generally, methodically* and *systematically* perpetrated; the anti-religious hatred; the anti-Christian, even anti-religious fanaticism; (not to speak of the wild exaggeration and generalization of these charges)—all this is, in the face of the religiosity in the German army, a *psychological impossibility!* Here an array of simple, and in the general outlines indisputable, facts stands against a mass of loose statements of the basest kind.

"A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit!" Matt. 7, 18.

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19 According to B. Duhr, S. J., Goldkörner aus eiserner Zeit (Munich-Regensburg, Manz 1915) 14 f.

11. German and French War-Pastorals.

By Professor Dr. Alois *Knöpfler*, Munich.

SYSTEMATIC and unscrupulous agitation, carried on for years, openly and secretly, seems to have succeeded in throwing all classes and circles of the population of France into such a national excitement that a calm judgment of actual events has become an impossibility. Not only professional demagogues, nay men of science who otherwise consecrate their services to the cause of truth, have under the spell of national chauvinism become oblivious of their honorable duty, to the extent of lending their talents to the framing of a most regrettable diatribe,—"La Guerre Allemande et le Catholicisme," replete with unfounded and untrue charges against us Germans. The same shall stand for all times against its authors as an inglorious evidence of fatal violation of truthfulness. Nay even more! Even some bishops, shepherds of the faithful, deemed it permissible to lend to this product of political hatred the authority of their exalted ecclesiastical position, by incorporating in this document excerpts of their pastoral letters and marring the same with false charges and unfounded accusations. Here is manifested a fundamental difference in the religious sentiment, thought and judgment on the part of the Germans and the French. Whilst a number of French cardinals, archbishops and bishops have placed themselves unhesitatingly and unreservedly at the service of political passion and national enthusiasm, it was deemed on the German side a postulate of due reverence, even in case of justifiable self-defense against unjust attacks, to place at the service of the defense the dignity and authority of the bishops only with the greatest reserve.

This essential difference in the conception and appreciation of ecclesiastical pastoral duties reveals itself throughout in the wording of the war pastorals of either side. It is the sacred duty of the bishops, the divinely constituted leaders and guides of the faithful, to heed the admonition of the Apostle of the Gentiles and, in all important events, in all needs and dangers, to raise their voice "in season, out of season; reprove, entreat, rebuke in all patience and doctrine" (2 Tim. 4, 2). Hence, it is self-evident that even in the turmoils of war they must stand by their

flock with words of admonition, warning and consolation. How totally different, however, sounds the pastor's voice in France; how different in Germany! The pastoral letters of the German bishops are throughout, in concept, purpose and line of argument, of a religious trend, whereas the French, as far as known, are likewise throughout nationalistic, not rarely attained to thoughts of revenge. We can evidently single out here only a few striking passages.

The German prelates[1] recognize in the war the quickening of a new religious life; a visitation of divine justice because of past guilt and sin; an admonition to earnest self-examination and penance. The bishops appeal to their faithful with touching words. "Like the stormwind," says the pastoral, "the war penetrates the cold mists, the bad exhalations of unbelief and of scepticism, and the unhealthy atmosphere of an un-Christian hyper-culture. The thoughts of the German people again centered upon themselves; faith re-entered into its own right; the soul opening her eyes recognized the Lord. Following the impulse of grace, heeding the voice of its pastors and the admonition of its God-fearing emperor, the people made their way to the churches and there found the Saviour. In that fateful hour, people learned to know that He alone is the Holy One, He alone the Lord, He alone the Most High. Our soldiers ere departing for the front concluded anew with Him in Holy Communion their Covenant for life and for death."

The bishops of Germany do not content themselves with a declaration of the awakening of a new religious life, but with serious words they stir up consciences and exhort to frank self-examination and to self-knowledge. "The war opens the debit account of the nations before all the world," we read further on, "and enters the finding of this accounting in human blood. We will not delve into the debit accounts of other nations, but into our own; we shall not examine the consciences of our enemies, but our own. We are innocent of the guilt of having caused this war; it has been forced upon us; this we can attest before God and the world. For the rest, we will not harp on our guiltlessness. The war has laid bare also with us grievous guilt. Our own people have very plainly pronounced their judgment: thus things cannot continue. How often have we bishops in the distress of our hearts raised our plaint because of the decline of religious and moral life. Now the war has reinstated religion in her rights. The war as a judgment of God has made apparent, how certain vices gnaw at the marrow of a people so that its strength vanishes in the hour of need causing it to collapse. With deepest confusion we must acknowledge: we have allowed this

[1] Pastoral letter of the archbishops and bishops of the German Empire, 3. Sunday in Advent, 1914.

to happen, so that these very vices have been introduced among our people to an alarming degree, that even with us marriage has been desecrated and robbed of its blessing in offspring. Our fault, our grievous fault."

This open confession of guilt quite naturally includes sincere sorrow and earnest repentance and to these the bishops invite the German nation in touching admonition. "Our people's great and greatest guilt," they continue, "demand penance and expiation." Our soldiers forthwith discerned in the call to arms a call to penance; hence their first step was toward the confessional. Their good example has found imitation among all classes of our people. Public opinion has been reversed; a spirit different from that of a few months ago breathes through German realms. A penance of brief duration, however, cannot expiate the guilt of many years. True contrition wipes out guilt, but not every punishment. Only the sincere penance and thorough conversion of an entire people can expiate the guilt of an entire people. Hence, your bishops with united voice summon you all to a general, resolute act of reparation on January 10th, the Sunday after Epiphany. We appeal to you all, but especially to our men and youths; for they, as on the battlefield, so also here must stand in the front ranks in defense of people and fatherland; we shall notify our soldiers at the front and invite participation on their part as far as feasible. Above all else, we will expiate our own guilt and sanctify ourselves by the devout reception of the holy Sacraments. Then we will tender by public religious services a solemn reparation to the Divine Heart of our Saviour and through it to the Triune God, above all for our own sins, for our negligence in the service of God, for our weakness and cowardice; for our lukewarmness and halfheartedness; moreover, for the guilt of the entire nation, for the prevailing blasphemy and denial of divine truth, for such shameful transgression of divine commandments, for such manifold contempt of grace, for so much ingratitude towards the infinite, redeeming love of the Saviour, for so much impairment of the kingdom of God." "This reparation of so many thousand contrite, painstricken hearts,—how graciously will the Divine Heart of Jesus and the Heart of the heavenly Father receive the same! Thus we lessen the guilt of our people in the war. We do our share to shorten the time of visitation, we hasten the return of peace, to cause the regeneration of our people unto truth."

How earnest, touching and truly apostolic are these words, springing from the deepest ground of religious, Christian-Catholic life, feeling and thought! Quite different in kind, sound to our ears several pastoral voices from the French camp. Some French bishops have deemed it expedient to endorse the plaint of the Belgian Cardinal Mercier of Malines

by a solemn eulogy thereof. We are constrained to give in the first place some consideration to this document (219 seq.), inasmuch as in the French pastorals republished in this work, the same thoughts found here, are frequently expressed. As particularly salient in this pastoral must be marked the following points: an excessive glorification of patriotism, harsh accusations of the enemies and a faint-hearted avowal of religious indifference. In especially glowing colors and with superabounding enthusiasm the Cardinal lauds the patriotism manifested by the entire Belgian people, from the king down to the least of its citizens. He calls this patriotism one of the sublimest Christian virtues. "The Christian religion," he says, "makes patriotism a law, one cannot be a perfect Christian, unless he also be a pèrfect patriot" (230). The same thought is repeated by the bishop of Arras, inasmuch as he glorifies the patriotism of his countrymen in a similarly eloquent manner. He extols it not only as a truly religious act, but actually discerns in it the religious regeneration of France and does not hesitate to glorify the enlistment of priests as active soldiers, decreed by his Masonic government, as something "supernatural" (260). Patriotism is certainly a sublime virtue; you may even call it "sacred" as Cardinal Mercier wills; but it never dare lead to blasphemy, as has happened in Belgium according to the words of the same Cardinal. "Judging from voices that I could hear," he says, "it would seem that in many places, where people have suffered least, harsh words have been uttered against God which almost sound like blasphemy." In another place it is said: "Even they who murmured and lacked the courage to humble themselves beneath the hand of Him, who strikes us and heals again, acknowledge indirectly that God is the Supreme Master. They blaspheme *(blasphèment)* him only because he gives ear to their wishes too slowly." (220, 227.) Let patriotism be praised in highest accents; higher than the sacredness of patriotism stands the sacredness of God, the sacredness of truth.

In contradiction to facts Cardinal Mercier repeatedly utters harsh accusation against the German armies. In pathetic words he pictures the sufferings and terrors of the war which overwhelmed his country so very suddenly. But as to how this has come about, how country and nation could so easily have been preserved from these terrible visitations, if king and government had not involved themselves and their country long before by secret compacts in the machinations of England and France (Cfr. chapt. 5), on all this the Cardinal has not a word to say. He makes the serious accusation that on the 2nd of August a foreign power, trusting in its own strength and unmindful of the fealty to treaties, dared to endanger Belgium's independence (229). That this independence was

not only not endangered, but twice most solemnly guaranteed,—of this he takes no notice.

In a long list are enumerated the many villages, the buildings, schools, churches, etc., that have been destroyed; in mournful tone it is related how many victims among the civil population, the enemy's invasion has demanded. All this is so depicted as if the enemy had carried on the work of pillage deliberately, with a well-planned mania for destruction; that these, no doubt, pitiable and regrettable happenings were only the natural, necessary consequences of a conduct on the part of the civil population, entirely at variance with international law, to this we find in the sympathetic words of the Cardinal not the slightest allusion. That the Cardinal should not have heard of these events which his own Belgian newspapers reported extensively, can hardly be believed.[2] Nor do we presume that he wrote of those things despite the better knowledge to the contrary. Thus it may at first seem inexplicable, how the Cardinal can make such hard accusations against Germany. Even less explicable must it seem that French bishops not only endorse in their entirety these accusations, but even seek to exceed them with unfounded misrepresentations. Just by these French concoctions, no less serious than untrue, accusations were carried to the neutral foreign countries. A rectification thereof is, however, of the greatest importance in judging the German armies justly; it cannot, therefore, be out of place to quote a competent witness, who himself was made to suffer by the events[3] that called forth the punishments inflicted on the Belgian populace. A German officer from the front says: "Generally known are the actions prohibited by international law, which were perpetrated by cruel, brutalized inhabitants of Belgium and France upon our soldiers, who had been wounded, or assigned to quarters; mutilations, slow torturing of unsuspecting and helpless members of the army by non-combatant inhabitants were the order of the day in the first weeks of the war. Nations who consider themselves among the first of the civilized nations of the earth, burdened their consciences with abominations and cruelties, which we Germans would hardly expect from a savage, barbarian people. Facts prove how deeply rooted is the hatred of all things German and of the *supposed barbarians,* on the part of the *real barbarians.* But all this has not developed of itself: untruth and deception have been secretly at work for years to rouse peaceful nations against us." In another place it is said: "I shall not speak of this, how often the wounded or the not wounded by a misuse of the Red Cross fired from the rear upon

2 Cf. Rich. Grasshoff, Belgiens Schuld (Berlin 1915; Engl. Edition New York).

3 Cf. Die völkerrechtswidrige Führung des belgischen Volkskrieges. Berlin Ausw. Amt.; Rosenberg (Am. Edition), 49-69.

our advancing lines! . . . Secretly installed telephones in cellars and other dugouts or beneath straw stacks, illicit aids given through transposition of window shutters, hailing signals given from unobserved locations, were the regular means of warfare employed contrary to international law by our enemies."[4] Were these not crimes crying to heaven for vengeance? Could the German armies allow such criminal conduct to go unpunished? If in the combat with such perfidious enemies many an innocent victim has fallen, this is surely deplorable; the responsibility, however, rests not upon the German soldiers, but upon their perfidious assaulters. Hence, it is unjust to indict the Germans, without saying a word about these reprehensible tactics. Had the inhabitants not been roused or—as sacred duty demanded—in time been recalled to their senses, untold misery might have been averted.

The populace being thus disposed,—of what significance can a timid avowal of guilt be, when made in general terms (227 seq.), thereby rather flattering the people's feeling than calling to fervent repentance, to sorrow and betterment? Instead of placing before the eyes of the people their serious transgressions, the pastorals speak of the chosen people, to whom God will surely bring salvation and assistance. Would this not tend rather to blind the people still more than to lead them to a salutary enlightenment?

The war-pastoral of the Belgian Primate, though it differs to its disadvantage from the pastoral of the German archbishops and bishops and though it contains much that it incorrect, still has a moral foundation: it is the spontaneous outcry of a father's heart distressed because of the war's appalling havoc wherein he finds his country immersed at his return home. The momentary grief, the deep sorrow excludes every other consideration. It is not thus with the cardinals and bishops of France; they were further removed from the happenings in Belgium and could judge them more calmly and objectively. If they have not done so, it was not as they say, because of "reverence for the cardinal's love of truth, justice and country," but rather because of nationalistic antipathy and inimical feeling against Germany. They not even content themselves with unreserved approval, nay they add of their own volition serious contumely. The five Cardinals, of *Reims, Bordeaux, Paris, Montpellier* and *Lyons,* namely, believe it to be their duty to utter their protest "against the infamy having been inflicted upon the person of the Cardinal, as well as upon the freedom of his office" (235). That this was a false report, moreover branded at once as such publicly, the above-named cardinals seem not to have known or at least not to

[4] Franz Schrönghamer-Heimdal, Kriegssaat und Friedensernte, Gesammelte Kriegsaufsätze eines Mitkämpfers (Freiburg 1915), 46, 51.

have heeded. Further than the cardinals, go the six bishops of the province of Lyon. They not only laud the Belgian pastoral with encomiums, interwoven with which are the most serious and most unfounded vilifications of the Germans; they also represent the matter as if the Cardinal were threatened with imprisonment and exile, nay they depict his flock as kissing the chains of his hands (236, 241). Such fantastic visions in their rhetorical setting are calculated to arouse the passions of the people.

This grave reproach must also be made against the French pastorals re-printed in the French pamphlet. Necessity compels us to prefer this charge, deplorable and painful though it be to accuse the Lord's annointed. These French bishops seem indeed to be so deeply entangled in national chauvinism, that calm and just judgment has become impossible for them. To be able entirely to comprehend the very distressing impression, which these pastorals must make upon all unbiased Christian, not to say Catholic feeling, the same would have to be cited in their entirety. As this evidently is not practicable here, at least some of the most striking passages may be quoted. Contrary to the German pastoral letters the above named pastorals are documents of a political trend, interspersed with some pious phrases which accomplish the almost incredible:—on the one hand in the glorification of France and on the other in the vilification of Germany.

Turinaz, Bishop of *Nancy,* hopes for France's victory and for a glorious peace, because this France, in the very face of so severe trials, of so great a devastation and destruction has observed all laws human and divine with never wavering constancy. "We cannot believe that reward and victory should fall to the lot of our pitiless enemies. We cannot believe," he says, "that God will deprive His church of the generous and loyal help of France, whose place in this providential mission no other nation could supply" (251).

The Bishop of *Arras* opines: "Whatever we may say of the war, in which we are involved at present, we have neither sought nor willed it, it has been forced upon us. National honor has bidden us accept it as one assumes a sacred obligation, and now we wage this war with determination, with the enthusiasm of those who are conscious of being in this battle the defenders of justice and right. As certain, however, as the honesty of our intentions and the sacredness of our cause may be and as well-founded as the hope of final success at this moment indeed is, we must nevertheless concede that the war is not carried on without its usual train of sacrifices and misfortune" (254).

Archbishop Mignot of *Albi,* who deemed it suitable and conclusive evidence to incorporate in his pastoral a two page article of the

"Temps", replete with untrue and injurious accusations against us (268ff), remarks: "Lying has perverted minds and hearts. In certain sincerely religious places people are about to look upon us as impious, consider us blasphemers, deserving of every divine visitation. My God! It is so easy and so customary even with Catholics to assume the rôle of an advocate of God. In the eyes of certain pietists, we are very Amalekites, Chananaites, Hettites, Pharisees, whom God detests. It is, indeed, far from us to conceal our faults; we often make ourselves even worse than we actually are, by talkativeness, frivolity, foolishness, lack of seriousness, and God knows what. But are Amalekites found only with us?" (272.)

A strange laudation of France is found in the pastoral of the Archbishop of *Cambrai,* the successor of the great Fénelon. There it is said: "The French soldiers feel more or less explicitly, but positively, that they are the soldiers of Christ and of Mary, defenders of the faith, and that to die a Frenchman is equivalent to dying a Christian. *Vivat, qui diligit Francos, Christus.*"[5] The most fitting reply to this strange assertion is, it seems to us, given by Schrönghamer-Heimdal in the above-quoted book, where we read, p. 6: "The tittering of women yonder with the enemy in the trenches! The sinewy Zouaves, robust Alpine chausseurs, the elite troupes of the French, and women with them." *(C'est mourier à la française!)* "And while the thinly draped faun-like deity was playing his prickling pranks, our reserves in their trenches lighted the remnants of candles, whilst the beads of the rosary were gliding through their fingers. It was a Saturday evening, when the folks at home, kneeling at the benches along the wall, recite the rosary. That is an essential difference between here and there; it lies in the kind, in the blood. Here German, there French. I never understood so thoroughly the word 'God with us,' as on that Saturday night, and never was I so sure on which side the final victory would be."

Well nigh unintelligible are the fulsome hymns of praise from the lips of a Catholic bishop, which the ordinary of *Versailles* sees fit to intone concerning France and its providential mission. "If France were to fall," he thinks, "if only its star were to wane, the European equilibrium would then be destroyed, civilization would lose it delicacy and its charm, the earth would suffer an alarming loss of light and warmth, humanity would be robbed of its best elements. . . . . The greatest catastrophe, however, would be: the Gospel would suffer a reverse . . . . . and what a reverse! Holy Church would see herself deprived of one of her citadels . . . . . and what a citadel!"

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[5] Quoted from Theologie und Glaube (Paderborn), VII (1915) 390.

"Let us not forget that France for the past fifteen hundred years holds the place of honor as to Catholicism. God was in need of a missionary people, i. e. of a people with a clear mind to seek the ideal, with a warm heart to grasp it, with an ardent soul to sacrifice all for it,—a people sufficiently artistic to please, sufficiently strong to assert itself, sufficiently great to compel admiration, sufficiently magnanimous to make itself loved, adequately enthusiastic to invite imitation. God was in need of . . . . . France! In truth! Was France not in the past the best servant of God, of Jesus Christ, of the Church? And in our day, is it not France that for the past hundred years has sent out her missionaries and religious into all the world, that causes the Catholic faith to send forth its light in the Orient, that raised the cross in Pekin, in Cochin-China, in Algiers, in Tunis, on the shores of the Niger and the Congo? The France of 1915 is as the France of 1709 a great support of Catholicity, the principal bulwark of the divine edifice, the best propagator of the kingdom of God on earth."

"In any case, if she ever should forfeit her place of honor in the front ranks of Catholicity, Germany could never replace her in this exalted position." Here follow some defamations of Germany, equivalent to those of the Archbishop of Albi, which we will duly consider later on. The bishop then continues: "France, Catholic France is the chosen people of God, the friend of Christ, the first-born daughter and loyal handmaid of holy Church. It is true, in recent times it seemed as if France would disavow her baptism and blush for her past history. It was thought she was about to renounce definitively her religious task. This, however, was only a momentary and apparent weakness, an aberration not coming from the depth of her soul and which could not endure. Under the pressure of sufferings and of patriotism the breath of a higher life has been wafted over our country and France at once brought to mind again her ancient and most necessary, her Catholic traditions" (276ff).

Such language French bishops dare offer their people in the face of the saddening religious conditions developing before all eyes in France, in the face of the serious blows which the Church in France has received within the past decades and is still receiving up to this hour from the Masonic government. Is it necessary to tell the reader how the Church in France is being maltreated by the government, separated from the State, nay enslaved by it, how the people are systematically dechristianized, how religious instruction has been banished from the school, how the placing of crucifixes is prohibited, how monasteries are suppressed, their inmates dispersed, how the churches were secularized and profaned? Is not the offensive declaration of the French Prime Minister Viviani within the recollection of all: Modern science has extinguished the lights

in the heavens? Would it here not have been the sacred pastoral duty of these French bishops to exhort the people in an entirely different manner, than with a few occasional words, to faith, penance and conversion, and to hold out to them that terrible guilt by which marriage has been desecrated and the country's power of defense fatally weakened,—was it not their duty to reclaim the rights of Church and religion from the Masonic government? To make such use of the time of visitation might indeed have redounded to the salvation of France. Instead of this, these bishops waste precious time by sowing hatred against us with serious, passionate accusations, by glorifying the angelic innocence of France, by dreaming of a complete conversion of the entire nation and army, and by abetting a government, which even the terrors of war fail to prevent from brutally persecuting religion and Church. The frightful visitations and terrors of war recalled to the faithful of their dioceses the Saviour's grave words: "If thou also hadst known, and that in this thy day the things that are to thy peace!" (Luke 19, 42.) Thus it came about that they did *not* know them and that they remained hidden from their eyes. What grave, oppressive responsibility, when once the mists of blind chauvinism are dispersed!

Still more incredible than the things said in the glorification of France are those which the French bishops permit themselves to say in the vilification of Germany. It is not an easy matter, in the consideration of these utterances, to preserve equanimity and not to become in one's own behalf offensive. It may be a pardonable untruth that the above-named bishops charge Germany with being to blame for the outbreak of this terrible war (242, 250, 254, 264). It may indeed be rather difficult for them to follow up all the political intrigues and to arrive at a clear decision. On the whole, wrong can hardly be done them by assuming that they had some knowledge of the mischievous intrigues plotted for a long time by France, England and Russia. They must likewise have heard again and again of the continuous cry for revenge on the part of their countrymen. Even more self-evident is it that they heard of the dastardly assassination at Serajewo, which eventually kindled the horrible war, and the indirect accomplices of which the leaders of their people have made themselves. How, then, could they in good faith straightway attribute to Germany responsibility for the outbreak of the war?

Somewhat weightier already is the oft-repeated accusation that Germany had threatened to destroy and annihilate France (246, 247). To produce any evidence as to when and where Germany has ever given notice of such intention, the bishops deem unnecessary. (Cfr. above p. 29.) To us, however, "corrected" charts of Europe have been submitted showing

how Germany, according to the intentions of the three noble allies, was to be partitioned. Did the bishops in question, when writing their pastorals, have no knowledge of these charts?

We have seen above how the French cardinals and bishops unreservedly endorsed the Belgian Primate's pastoral; thus we can understand why they also in their own pastorals utter similar accusations and, following that precedent, pass over in silence actual provocations. The conduct of the French bishops is, however, even less excusable than that of the Belgians. They know that the German authorities positively deny the deeds of violence and the atrocities with which they have been charged; nevertheless the bishops rely upon the official reports. That these reports on the part of the French have been made up one-sided, arbitrary and contrary to the truth, the bishops do not consider. On the other hand, they betray exact knowledge of the infamous conduct on part of the French, at variance with international law, by which the German reprisals were incited. These facts, however, they curtly deny, nay, they even dare speak of French magnanimity (245, 255). How great the latter really was, the one fact may demonstrate, that it required on the part of the Germans divers retaliatory measures to prevail upon France to some extent at least to observe the laws of humanity. In the vilifications and offenses of Germany, the bishops of Nancy, Arras, and Albi seem to seek to excel one another; the bishop of Versailles also endeavors to support them. In proof of this, a few extracts tending in that direction may be cited from their pastorals.

On the strength of a pretended report of the French embassy at Bern, Bishop Turinaz of *Nancy* permits himself to make the unfounded assertion "that a German general had given command to kill all prisoners of war." Another general is said to have written: "We need not exculpate ourselves, whatever evil our soldiers can do to the enemy is well done, and justified in advance." The bishop speaks, moreover, of the "slaughter of old men, of women and children," by the Germans; of "horrible mutilation of small children, of most hateful and most infamous deeds of violence, of systematic destruction of villages and cities by incendiarism and bombardment, of general organized pillaging, of devastation and destruction of churches and most beautiful cathedrals" (244). In connection therewith, we will consider at once the bombardment of the cathedral at Reims, which Archbishop Mignot of Albi calls sacrilegious. The excuse that the Germans were forced to this by the French, because the latter had used the spires, to direct their fire against the enemy, the Bishop tries to invalidate irresistibly with the assertion that nobody would understand how batteries could have been placed in the towers of the cathedral at such height

(273). That the French had placed batteries in the towers of the cathedral, naturally no one has asserted, but rather that they established there posts of observation for the artillery and made use of the cathedral as a protection for their batteries. The best answer to these charges a German officer at the front seems to have given when he writes: "While I am reading just now the hypocritical lamentations of the French on account of the alleged bombardment of the cathedral of Reims, shells are crashing into the church of Thiescourt. They are, however, no German, but French shells. The enemy probably suspects an artillery observation post located in the church tower and directs his fire at it, thus causing some shells to strike the nave of the church. The holes are distinctly visible. A sudden disgust seizes me; at the moment when I read the pharisaical lamentations over the bombardment of the French cathedral, they themselves, in their own country, reduce to ruins a temple of God—as they did a few days previously in near-by Lassigny, as a few weeks later in Herbecourt, a place to the west of Peronne, as in all places along the long front, wherever a church tower lay within reach of the enemy's fire."[6]

In almost equally offensive tone as Turinaz of Nancy, the bishop of *Arras* expresses himself. He also attempts, of course, with as little foundation as the others, to place upon the Germans the responsibility of the war with all its consequences. According to his statement they have shamefully violated every venerable law, have trampled under foot every natural right and the most elementary principles of humanity, have destroyed the inalienable properties of innocent citizens, have done violence to unarmed persons, and very particularly to the two *sacred* defenseless persons (*ces deux faiblesses sacrées*): "the woman and the child." All these laws the enemy disregards; he disregards them designedly, he "violates them not as it were merely by accident, but according to clearly considered and faithfully executed methods" (255).

Exceeding all measure, however, are the accusations of Archbishop Mignot of *Albi*. He speaks of the stabbing of three and four year old children and then continues: "To rob one's fellowman of his property without any other reason than brutal hatred; to drive him, after having robbed him, from his lowly home; to separate him from wife and children, and compel these to quit their native land and, not knowing whither to direct their steps, to journey into a foreign land whose language they do not understand; to seek shelter against the inclemencies of the weather and to seek a little bread that they may not die of hunger,—that means *might before right*. To rape women and then mutilate them, means

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6 Schrönghamer-Heimdal, l. c., p. 50; Cfr. also above, chapt. 9.

might before right. To shoot innocent hostages, to place prisoners unprotected in the first lines of battle and thus compel Frenchmen to kill their own countrymen, that is combining cruelty with cowardice, that means *might before right.* To bombard unprotected cities without strategic reasons, as in the case of Louvain, Reims, Soissons, Arras, etc., is unmitigated barbarity" (267). Is it chance or unconscious rediculing of self, that the bishop with this choice selection of crimes has stigmatized the very crimes wherewith the French and their allies, the Muskovites, have burdened their consciences? If the Germans had recourse to severe measures against such misdeeds, they were compelled to do so in self-defense, and guilt as well as responsibility for all this must recoil upon the enemy himself.

In view of the incessant, uncalled-for lamentations over the reprisals which the Germans were forced to adopt because of the deeds of violence committed by the French in contravention of international law, the pertinent remarks of the repeatedly quoted German officer at the front may be inserted here. He writes: "When a nation no longer feels itself possessed of the power to fight a battle with honest, clean resources, recourse is taken to strategems that bid defiance to all international law and every human right. The nation that employs such tactics in its conduct of war, forfeits, as a matter of course, the right to be considered an honorable enemy. It concedes at the same time a moral weakness and thereby places itself in crude opposition to its honorable opponent who would never have dreamt of employing such means of warfare."[7] But all the more these bishops! If the divinely appointed bearers of the gospel of love and reconciliation, instead of assuaging the disunion of nations and counseling a peaceful settlement, rouse passions still more by such unjust accusations,—who will calculate the mischief, that can be caused thereby in the lives of nations; who could depict horribly enough the grave responsibility which such manner of controversy implies? Will not a gentle foreboding of the evil consequences, which their regrettable conduct will bring about, seize upon the above-named bishops in an hour of silent reflection!

One imagines himself to be ascending from the vapors of the lowlands to the clear atmosphere of the mountain heights, as one passes from the reading of the French to that of the German pastoral letters. It is no longer the voice of national chauvinism, of nation-stirring passion that reverberates within our ear; we hear the consolations of religion, an admonition to hearty self-knowledge and sincere repentance. This keynote which we already have heard in the joint pastoral letter rings on in

7 Schrönghamer-Heimdal, l. c., 45.

every individual German pastoral without exception. In proof thereof, we can, of course, single out from more than two dozen pastorals only a few excerpts.

The Archbishop of *Bamberg* with joyful satisfaction bears witness to the new awakening of religious life in German countries when he writes: "When our men and youths were called to battle in defense of the endangered fatherland, in defense of their honor and their very life, they would not march into the battlefields where death will menace them in a hundred different forms, with the sting of sin in their hearts; they would first remove from their hearts the torturing disquietude, which the consciousness of guilt against their Creator and Master and the fear of His wrath had awakened within them, so that they might do their duty to their country calmly and courageously even to death. And to know that their sons and their husbands took the fields in the peace of the Lord, was also the most pleasing consolation for those who with hearts full of care remained at home when the warriors received their marching orders."

"God be thanked", exclaims the Archbishop of *Freiburg,* "the voice of the bishops, your shepherds, has found an echo in your souls. Exceedingly numerous has been your attendance at the religious services which we have ordained and at which you have consecrated yourselves and your families and parishes to the most sacred Heart of Jesus. True it is indeed,—to all the world be it joyfully proclaimed for the honor of our people—, faith and religious spirit were not extinguished in the soul of the German people. Faith, however, had become dormant with many and was no longer the unerring standard of our reasoning and living. Did not many of us incur God's displeasure like those of whom he complained: 'They have forsaken me, the fountain of living water, and have digged to themselves cisterns that can hold no water' (Jer. 2, 13)? The affliction of the times has discredited unbelief. There lives a just and merciful God, 'our refuge and strength' (Ps. 45, 1). Thus have confessed the millions, who in the hour of peril lifted their hands heavenward and knelt in fervent prayer before the altars."

The Cardinal Archbishop of *Munich* speaks in like manner: "You have readily heeded the unceasing exhortations of your pastors, the joint admonitions of the German bishops, as also the apostolic appeal of the supreme pastor of the Church which has now also been addressed to the entire Catholic world, to implore God that He may end this grave visitation, grant peace, and render yourselves deserving of this help from above by penance and holy zeal. I beg of you, cease not your prayers that the merciful God may shorten the days of affliction."

Of similar import are the pastoral words of all other German bishops.

"Awfully grave is the responsibility of those who have incited this war," begins the Lenten pastoral letter of the Archbishop of *Breslau;* "likewise also the penalty of those who by their ungodliness and impiety have conjured up this visitation of God. The Lenten pastoral in such a time must be a rigorous appeal to penance, a grave admonition to a thorough conversion. Thus have spoken all the bishops of Germany and Austria to their flocks at the beginning of the war. A conversion to God in strong faith and by a zealous life must be the fruit of war times."

The Bishop of *Strassburg* gives this warning: "Every war is a visitation of God, and not only upon those who have provoked it, but also upon those who were forcibly drawn into it. Hence, the present war is a visitation of God for our country also. In Germany, too, we have sinned much and grievously, and we Germans, too, must strike our breasts and say *mea culpa.* Despite all progress in external culture, the religious and moral development has been downward to an alarming extent. . . . We dare not overlook that the principal object of divine chastisements is the betterment of men. This effect the war has already produced. . . . The present afflictions have again directed men's thoughts to God. An active religious life has again been awakened in the people. Multitudes of people flock to the devotions prescribed by the bishops. Our soldiers are also deeply stirred by the religious spirit which asserts itself everywhere. Even in the field, religious fervor has not abated. . . . ."

The Bishop of *Metz* exhorts to holy trust in God. "You have, indeed," he says, "borne with dignity and Christian fortitude the grave afflictions and are willing to do this also in the future. We all are in need of rekindling trust in God, lest we succumb on the way of the cross, along which God leads us."

The Bishop of *Rottenburg* summons in forcible language to a heroic spiritual combat: "Rightly has it been said that in the present war the heroism of by-gone days has been awakened anew in the German people. This heroism must also prove true in the religious life. The heroism of war must be relieved by the heroism of peace, the battle for the German Empire shall become a battle for the Kingdom of God." "The spirit of the hero, as well as the courage of the hero, will also be needed in the future, that one may prove himself in the world a true disciple of Jesus Christ. Even though unbelief and impiety be silent for the moment and seem to have disappeared from the earth,—as soon as the war is ended, they will venture to sally forth anew and, perhaps, more boldly than before want to be the only speakers . . . ." "The German people will know how to preserve in times of peace their ancient

glory which they have entirely recovered in ominous times—the fairest glory of being a people believing in God, God-fearing and intensely religious."

In no less serious words the Bishop of *Augsburg* admonishes: "These fateful months, which have overtaken us, must be times of holy exercises, must be times of mission and penance for each one, and we deem it our sacred duty to beseech you: Let the seriousness of the times serve as a solemn appeal to repentence, or to express it in other words, let the seriousness of the times teach and exhort you: *'Back to God!'*"

Of similar trend are the exhortations of the Bishop of *Mayence:* "The days of penance have come for those who otherwise heed not the warnings of the Church. The war imposes this penance upon us, whether we will it or not, in the restrictions, privations, sacrifices, inconveniences both bodily and spiritual, from which no one can or dare entirely withdraw. We make sacrifices in money and property for our brave soldiers in the field, for our wounded and sick in the hospitals. Now, then, let us do it in a spirit of penance and Christian charity, to blot out sins and save our souls. The complaint is still heard quite frequently, that not a few of those who have remained at home, have failed to grasp the seriousness of the times and will not understand the warnings of war. A grave reproach! . . ." "Most certainly, if by the sufferings and terrors of the war individuals and nations are led back to Him, in whose name alone men can find salvation—the terrible world war shall be of permanent benefit for the salvation of souls. *Back to Christ!*—that is the emphatic appeal of the terrors and afflictions of war."

The Bishop of *Ratisbon* awakens sentiments of filial gratitude to God for the gracious protection from hostile invasion and at the same time exhorts to sincerest godliness. "He, the all-merciful God who has thus far extended His saving, helping hand over us, be therefore heartily thanked. . . ." "This gratitude must come from a God-fearing heart. Whoever does not fear God, cannot be in earnest with his thanksgiving." "The eyes of the Lord are upon them that fear Him; He is their powerful protector and strong stay" (Eccles. 34, 19).

The Bishop of *Eichstaett* exhorts in consoling words to patience and Christian resignation: "We all have sinned and ought in the time of affliction think as the pious Judith, who admonished her people in the days of distress: "As for us therefore, let us not revenge ourselves for these things we suffer. But esteeming these very punishments to be less than our sins deserve, let us believe that these scourges of the Lord, with which like servants we are chastised, have happened for our amendment and not for our destruction' (Jud. 8, 26). 'The Lord woundeth and cureth: He striketh, and His hands shall heal' (Job, 5, 18). Many

by reason of the war have again thought of God and learnt to pray to Him. Great religious fervor has manifested itself everywhere."

Almost identical are the pastoral words of the Bishop of *Ermland:* "In the light of faith," says he, "the terrible events in the present time appear as visitations, sent us by God, Who even in these does not disavow His love and paternal goodness. He afflicts His people to try the good and purify and test their loyalty in the furnace of sufferings."

A like consoling thought is contained in the words of the Bishop of *Limburg,* when he remarks: "It is a great consolation for us to know that here below the visitations of God are ever accompanied by His compassionating love. To this compassionating love of God let us turn in prudent self-examination and conversion, by penance and prayer."

The Bishop of *Münster* also calls the faithful to penance and prayer: "We, too," he writes, "have gone through times lacking in prayer. A great part of humanity had ceased to pray. People no longer had faith in prayer and its blessing. Aid was sought in the solicitudes of the times, everywhere except from God. In our distress we rapped at every door, except at the gates of heaven. When, however, we found ourselves powerless and helpless in the terrors of war, our churches were filled with worshippers; many learned anew to pray and learned to pray well." . . . "God grant that, when the sufferings of war have passed away, the people will persevere in this sincere penitence and in this zeal for prayer, that they never again will go the ways which they have forsaken, nor revert to what they have given up."

The Bishop of *Osnabrück* exhorts to fortitude and perseverance in these words: "God has reminded us by the war of His infinite majesty and made us humbly bend our knees. Like a good educator, however, He employs the rod not solely to humble and chastise us, but above all else to uplift us, that we may better ourselves and strengthen our will. War is, indeed, the time that begets heroism. We admire the bravery of our soldiers in the hardships and privations, in battling and dying. We tender our praise to the heroes who in the hospitals so courageously and patiently endure their wounds and mutilations. This heroic spirit, however, must animate us all."

The *Army-Bishop* also raises his voice in an impressive appeal to penance. "Religion," he declares, "had been laid waste and was despised. Unbelief and immorality haughtily lifted their heads; then came the war, the mighty arm of God, and aided religion in regaining her right. Scores of people recognized how bitter a thing it is to have forsaken the Lord. They cried out: 'I believe,' and penitently struck their breasts. They confessed their sins and found the peace of God in Holy Communion. This renewal, however, must be thorough, continuous and

lasting and for this reason we ever hear anew and especially at the beginning of the Lenten season the call of the Church: 'Do penance!'"

These excerpts taken from German pastorals, placed side by side with French effusions, convince whomsoever that desires to see, of the vast difference between the two sides. There the most one-sided national chauvinism permitting itself to even attain to the vilification of the opponent, here grave, religious feeling which not even to the slightest degree wounds the enemy. Every sentence, nay every word breathes forth a Christian spirit and also the commandment *to love the enemy* finds due recognition.

Thus the Bishop of *Würzburg* very specially designates Christianity as the *religion of love,* "which prohibits all personal hatred and tolerates no revenge, whether against the offender or the most embittered enemy." He shows that the commandment of Christ demands two things: "1. Thou *shalt* love the enemy, and 2. Thou *canst* love the enemy," and then directs the faithful to "the splendid example of our German soldiers, who have been so shamefully maligned by the French newspapers." How many of them at their departure from home shook hands with their adversaries and forgave them. And did we not read how they also proved their love toward the enemy in foreign lands? How, particularly on Christmas day, on the feast of God's love for us, they gathered the children of our national enemies about themselves, to give them the pleasure of Christmas presents? Are not our soldiers dividing their bread with them, where the people in the enemy's country are suffering hunger? Are not the wounded enemies treated by the physicians in the hospitals with the same care as our own soldiers? Have not the prisoners of war been accorded everywhere humane treatment? Is this not love of one's enemy in the midst of war?"

In similarly conciliatory words the Bishop of *Speyer* exhorts: "The injunction of the fifth petition, to forgive those who trespass against us, remains a divine command even in times of war. Warriors may not rage against their enemies by reason of personal hatred, nor ill-treat the wounded and the prisoners of war in personal revenge, nor damage on their own account private property unnecessarily. Those comrades have a right understanding of the fifth petition of the Lord's prayer, who share with the children of their enemies the soup and remove the helmet at the graves of their opponents and say: 'Our Father, forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us.'" And in another place the same bishop says: "The fires of enthusiasm, burning today brightly on every German hilltop, have not been kindled by hatred of other nations and rulers, they have been kindled by the love of emperor and king, of fatherland and home, and by our faith in our own

good-right. The prayers which today reverberate through the churches of Bavaria, are not psalms of malediction, spoken in hatred against opposing armies, but benedictions upon our army and navy."

Herewith may be concluded our comparison of the pastorals of either side. This comparison has shown many an unpleasant phenomenon and grave duty constrains us resolutely to repel unjust attacks and to vindicate the rights of truth. The conviction will naturally force itself upon the attentive, calmly judging reader, that the German arms also along this line are superior to those of the enemies. For the rest, even in this sphere peace must be the object of the battle. Hence, should we succeed in convincing the writers of the French war-pastorals that they were too prejudiced by nationalistic emotion, that they believed too readily vague rumors, doing us thereby grave injustice—an auspicious advance would thus have been made toward a final adjustment and we could be well contented with the results of this article.

12. The French and the German Kulturkampf in their Causes and Effects.

By School Principal Dr. Hermann *Platz* in Düsseldorf.

GEORGES Goyau has for several decades been making the Church history of Germany in the 19th century the subject of his research and has constantly striven to maintain a refreshing objectivity in his noteworthy writings. He has thus contributed much toward spreading correct views on German ecclesiastical affairs. The affable Goyau was in all places whither he came for purposes of investigation, a very welcome guest. The productions of his pen which were pervaded by a genuine and hearty Catholic tone and usually pivoted on problems of sociology, served as models for imitation. He was no orator. He kept aloof from the political controversies of the hour. Purely religious questions always possessed a certain charm for him. An air of completeness seemed to rest on his personality and his work.

But then came the war and with the war the great mental blindness. And Goyau did what none of his German acquaintances had suspected; he became a co-editor of that work of vilification entitled "La Guerre allemande et le Catholicisme" by contributing an offensive chapter: *La "Culture" germanique et le Catholicisme.* Goyau in this work goes the astounding length of asserting (32 f.) that *the World War of 1914-1915 is nothing else than a continuation of the German Kulturkampf of the '70's and '80's and purposes the extirpation of the Catholic Church.* Beneath the hostility toward the Catholic Church there lies concealed, he maintains, a conscious or unconscious enmity toward Christianity. Protestantism possessed for the pan-Germans only the value of a political instrument (39). Religion is a secondary matter in their estimation. Indeed, out of hatred for Rome, out of hatred for the Mediterranean types of culture, out of hatred for the very word Latin, out of hatred for Christ they wish to restore the worship of Odin on the mountain tops and in the depths of men's souls (46).[1]

After the German Kulturkampf is thus represented as the great crime, which maliciously produces all evil, the French Kulturkampf can

1 The invention of this idea as well as many similar chauvinisms apparently belongs to Maurice Barrès; cf. Behrens "Das kriegerische Frankreich" (1915) 103.

appear only as an episode. Psychologically only too easily to under stand! Germany is, of course, the dragon that gnaws at the roots of th tree of culture and destroys all its fruits, especially the choicest, th French. The German philosophy and Bismarck will have to answe for the French Kulturkampf, by no means the government officials o France or the Freemasons or the revolutionary philosophy or the passive ness of the French clergy! Thus things as clear as the noonday su appear to the minds of Gaudeau (1 ff.) and of the missionary (name no mentioned) (47 ff.), whilst the historian Goyau (32 ff.) deems it mor prudent not to allude to this hypothesis of the transmission of th Kulturkampf. He probably knows that this is nothing else than th application to a particular case of the assertion of the ultra-nationalis Léon Daudet (L'Avantguerre 1914), that Marianne (the Frenc Republic!) who is to blame for the decline of France, is the daughter o Bismarck, that she was slipped into the country in the Prussian muni tion vans.

These vagaries of a people who, frightened and stirred to its deepes depths of emotion, advances in the person of official representatives of th Church before neutral foreign powers, and without any knowledge of th involved political and industrial condition of affairs preceding the wa and failing to understand itself, endeavors to decry this as a religiou war and to seek its salvation in setting creeds against each other—thes vagaries necessitate a brief exposition of the German and the Frenc Kulturkampf in their causes and effects. Thus it shall appear wher the real Kulturkampf was fought, where the Kulturkampf spirit wa enkindled and in which Kulturkampf the greatest dangers to the Catho lic Church were and are to be sought.

The designation Kulturkampf, to begin with, originated with cate goric Progressive Professor Virchow, who in a pamphlet published i 1873, emphasized the necessity to support, in union with the other libera parties, the government in a struggle "which is daily assuming more an more the character of a great universal Kulturkampf." The Catholics however, used the term in an ironical sense.

Even a superficial *comparison of the German and the French Kul turkampf brings out fundamental differences.*

The German Kulturkampf is an isolated episode without an histor ical prologue or epilogue; the French Kulturkampf is a systemati unfolding of a basic plan drawn up already during the period of th French Revolution and ever since kept more or less clearly in view.

The German Kulturkampf is anti-Catholic; the French deeply anti Christian and anti-religious.

The German Kulturkampf is a politico-ecclesiastical struggle and only a strategic means to a political end; the French is politico-cultural and an end in itself, in the sense that its object was to establish the reign of an anti-Christian culture of this world.

The German Kulturkampf is the work of one man to whose "mythical" greatness and power even the French pay homage, by ascribing to him a mysterious joint-authorship of their Kulturkampf. The French Kulturkampf is the work of many who, however, sought in Latin Freemasonry their common source of inspiration.

The German Kulturkampf found the Catholics massed as one man on the battlefield of passive resistance, so that after a short time the ineffectual legislation springing out of the Kulturkampf had to be rescinded; the French Kulturkampf found the Catholics indifferent and before as well as after kindly disposed toward their anti-clerical deputies, so that the laws of the Kulturkampf, once put into effect, have to the present day been able to inflict ever new wounds on the Church.

The methods of procedure of *the French Kulturkampf,* which the skeptic Emile Faguet ascribes[2] to a proclivity of the French temperament for a Kulturkampf (Irreligion) may be traced back in outline to the French Revolution: confiscation of Church property, proscription of many religious orders, overthrow of the constitution of the Church, separation of Church and State, persecution and murder of priests, reign of atheism pure and simple. The fundamental necessity of actually realizing in a secularized State and society the newly acquired vision of a world ruled by enlightened reason and the natural law made itself everywhere felt in the succeeding years. Science bore herself more proudly every day and volunteered to solve the mysteries of nature. Books and newspapers which breathed hatred for Church and religion invaded the masses and instilled into them unawares the new ideals. High-sounding phrases on reason and liberty, science and democracy have at all times carried the Frenchman off his feet and rushed him into untimely changes and false and ruinous progress.

Cousin, who had endeavored to tear the spiritual element out of morality, now relinquished the "floor" to more advanced thinkers, as Quinet and Michelet. Their ideal of culture called for a complete separation from the Catholic Church. Michelet called her the citadel of evil, implying that the Revolution was the citadel of good. Quinet had already, in the year 1850, at the time of the discussion of the laws to be passed regarding the freedom of instruction, advocated as a praiseworthy step forward, "the separation of lay and ecclesiastical power, separation of school and Church; of teacher and pastor, of education and dogmas"

2 L'Anticlericalisme (Paris, 1905) 2.

(religion). Whereas, pre-revolutionary France had left education almost exclusively in the hands of the Church, Quinet looked upon the school as the most efficient means of imbuing the citizens of the future with the ideals of the government. Gambetta had previously called Quinet "the promoter of lay education in France" and the Radical party had celebrated the centenary of his birth at the opening of the 20th century.

The fact that the anti-Catholic and anti-religious spirit found an asylum in the *lodges of the Freemasons* who were most propitious to its most secret intentions and designs was bound to be especially calamitous to the interests of the Catholic Church.[3] This was the case particularly toward the close of the Second Empire, which by suppressing political life, drove all opposing elements into the secret societies to cultivate there "revolutionary traditions," and by occupying Rome aroused the opposition of the enemies of the Church and in general according to the testimony of Montalembert gave birth to much sensualism, materialism and even atheism. In 1864 Br. Massol began his propaganda for an "independent morality," "the one sole means to unite lay instruction, the base of the universal right of franchise into an organic whole, an impossible achievement as long as one adhered to the accepted theological and metaphysical hypotheses." His disciple at that time was the younger Henri Brisson, who later gained such a pernicious influence in politics. Massol was successful in making the question of the elimination of the "Architect of the Universe" a standing discussion in all the meetings of the Masons. When the positivistic philosophy of Littré and Ferry had gained sufficient ground, the doctrine of the existence of God and the immortality of the soul was according to a resolution passed in the Grand Orient struck out from the first article of the constitution. Before 1870 already, the Republican element predominated in many of the lodges. Among influential politicians of the day, the following were Freemasons besides those mentioned above: Crémieux, Floquet, Ranc, Pelletan, Méline, Andrieux, Antonin Dubost, Delpech, Etienne, Gambetta, Constans, Arago, Rouvier. The ambitious Republicans who ensconced themselves in the lodges of the Freemasons, and invested them more and more with their own spirit hungered for more than the acquisition of supreme power. These irreligious fanatics contemplated in addition the establishment of the new kingdom of this world.

Why! there were no more natural principles to guide them since traditions had been suppressed. The people were swayed back and forth by the purely external impulses of self-interest or fear, and were thus

[3] Owing to the vicissitudes of the World War, Freemasons like the editor-in-chief of the "Berliner Lokalanzeiger," Hugo v. Kupfer, even acknowledge at the present time that Freemasonry in France and Italy has become "a center respectively of political intrigues, active opposition to civil society or to the Church or even to both and has shown a tendency toward atheism." "Berliner Lokalanzeiger," June 13, 1915.

simply at the mercy of unprincipled, ambitious politicians "who call themselves Republicans and Progressives, but are for the most part mad fools" (Taine).

Zeal for conquest turned the thoughts of these free-thinkers quite naturally toward the *school.* In the year 1866 Jean Macé founded the "Educational League" which as early as the year 1877 counted 400 branch-courts and 60,000 members. Its purpose was to promote elementary education, but along the lines of "the principles proclaimed in the lodges." Agitation for the establishment of the Republic and preparation for the Kulturkampf against Christian schools and the Church constituted the burden of the League's work. Since 1870 there has been no ministry in France, which has not been at least 50 per cent Freemasonic.

The French *clergy* were not able to oppose an effectual barrier to this onrushing wave of "Culture." They took no cognizance of science. Unenlightened zealots criticized the Universities. The success of Renan's "Life of Jesus" (1863) first gradually opened the eyes of the clergy to the danger that lay in an estrangement of the Church from science. The ignorance of the clergy always produces irreligion in the laity—such was the opinion of a certain Jesuit of the time.

Perhaps more disastrous for the Church in France was the fact that she undertook the inopportune task of recommending in a time of rapid industrial development and social progress, unsocial, narrowly conservative ideals, and the merely passive virtues in a time of feverish personal activity. The one-sided views of Joseph de Maistre were unreservedly accepted as the last word in science. Veuillot, the companion-spirit of de Maistre achieved great things. With his sharp-witted pen he fought down many an idol of the day. But the domineering tone, with which in his superiority he drove home the truth, was not productive of, or favorable to, solid progress. His work found no soil to thrive in. Baudon in 1877 pointed to the model press of the German Catholics, but the clergy only woke up to the necessity of the press when it was too late. Truth was indeed guarded, but it was not vigorously asserted and enthroned triumphant in the face of falsehood. This dictatorial and anti-democratic spirit threw the Church beside the course of the stream of culture, the Catholics became the "emigrants to the interior." The poor abandoned people, the rising proletariate clamored for intellectual nourishment and social uplift, but still the clergy remained quietly in the vestry and schemed how they could obtain privileges for themselves from the nobility in power. Whilst Montalembert found very apt pupils in the German Catholics, who resolutely made the common

law the basis of their activity, he in his own land met the fate of the prophet crying in the wilderness.

Kulturkampf legislation set in when the Republican party after the election of 1876 triumphantly entered the Chamber with the overwhelming majority of 360 deputies. In the interest of the Republic and their mixed republican and democratic ideals, as well as out of hatred for Church and religion in general, the Republicans commenced their war on "Clericalism." In a speech which caused considerable stir, Gambetta complains (1878) of "the progress of the clerical-vatican and monkish and Syllabus-bound spirit." The illegal possessions of hundreds of thousands of monks constitute (according to him) the real social danger, especially so because the education of the youth was put into their hands by the Falloux Law of 1850, and after the passing of the law regarding high-school instruction by Jesuits whose cause always waxed, when that of the country waned.

"Lay Reason—that short-sighted, half-tamed grand-daughter of the monstrous, blind, brutal and demented ancestress, who in 1793 and 1794 was enthroned under the same name and in the same place" (Taine), commenced her work anew. But in 1880 and thereabouts one did not yet dare to hold up to the people this would-be ideal of thorough separation from religion. It was necessary, according to a statement of Gambetta, to introduce the reforms step by step. The Opportunists realized this and broke with the resolute Republicans. To begin, a campaign was inaugurated against Religious Orders, but only half carried out; processions were prohibited, certain hospitals were put under the control of laymen and the prohibition of working on Sunday was rescinded.

But all this was only preliminary. The real struggle commenced with the *agitation for the lay-schools*—an agitation which grew stronger day by day. The school, it was said, must obtain in France the same influence in the steadily progressing national life that it has enjoyed this long time among other nations. Therefore, the public school must be laicized. But this end has thus far been only half gained, because the lay-school was much abused as a means of disseminating principles which were hostile to Church and religion, and became in consequence a hotbed of Republicanism among the people. The laws of 1881 and 1882 made school-attendance free of charge but compulsory. Religious instruction was banished from the school-room. This was nothing else than an odious enactment of the Kulturkampf. Taine declared and he proved that "hitherto the majority of the fathers and all the mothers had wished education to be at the same time religious." The development of affairs only proved this more clearly; for in many localities the teacher became the opponent of the pastor, and a Republican electioneer. But

the spirit of the Republican innovators shone forth most plainly some time after in the revision of moral instruction, which was, at that time, completely drawn up in the spirit of deistic Spiritualism. The "natural religion" of Jules Simon was, so to speak, the Bible of the ruling party. Despite the earnest efforts of J. Simon to that effect, no "obligations toward God" were mentioned in the school laws. It was only in the Supreme Board of Education that Spiritualism succeeded in getting such a chapter inserted into the new program of moral instruction. But this chapter became a stumbling block and a sign to be contradicted. The positivistic politicians tolerated it only as a concession to a transition period, and it created difficulties without number for the great majority of male and female teachers, and the whole instruction as a consequence was superficial and ineffectual.

The theory on which this movement was founded is reflected in all the handbooks on morals which were springing up like mushrooms now, and developed rapidly from spiritualism to rationalism of Kantian stripe and thence to atheistic evolutionism and solidarism. The principle which proclaimed the moral unity of the whole people was continually gaining ground, especially among the ruling party. The idea of liberty had long been carried to its grave by these Republicans who were for the most part banded together into an unscrupulous financial oligarchy. France could look upon the democratic and anticlerical party only as a flock of sheep whose only shepherd they were themselves—so Faguet thought.[4] No father (according to him) has a right to expect that his son should not know the opinions of the majority of his contemporaries. Thus they tyrannized over those who opposed them. This political necessity of forcing their personal views on the people to maintain themselves in power could advance the more boldly the longer the laicized school was in power and in a position to flood the land with such principles of secularization. This was the case especially after such suspicious characters as Felix Faure and Méline had made their exit from the stage of politics.

The scandalous Dreyfus affair brought about a complete readjustment of the various parties during 1898 and 1899, and with the shibboleth "Justice" and "Fatherland" stirred up anew the dangerous religious antipathies which had been held in check for a short time by the policy of the "new spirit." A coalition of unscrupulous high finance and anti-religious enlightenment with headquarters in the "Grand Orient" was the consequence. Waldeck-Rousseau appointed the captain of finance, Caillaux, Minister of Finance, and the Freemason André, who organized the system of espionage in the army, became Minister of War; Millerand

[4] l. c. 194.

was appointed Minister of Labor—the first Socialist to hold the office. The Kulturkampf could now be waged on a big scale. The political activity of a few members of religious orders, especially the Assumptionists, was seized upon in 1898 as a welcome occasion.

Although Waldeck-Rousseau, the premier at the time, was not in the usual sense of the word an advocate of the Kulturkampf, still his *Law of Associations against the religious congregations,* which was full of contradictions and "swarming with sophisms," contributed a great deal to bring about the havoc that followed. It was said that at bottom he only wished to define the legal status of religious orders; in short, wished only to effect a kind of Concordat relative to the Orders. But if that was the intention, how could the law of July 1, 1901, which establishes the freedom of association already proclaimed in the constitution of 1848, subject religious orders to a strict police surveillance, thereby in many ways restricting their freedom of association? Furthermore, how could it declare every member of an order not approved by the State incapable either personally or through another to conduct an educational institution of any kind or to hold a position on the teaching staff? A long-looked-for freedom was granted to some, but simultaneously through a narrow-minded, mean system of discrimination in carrying out the law, withdrawn from others, who they claimed had no right to it! And why? Because it was said they had isolated themselves by their vows from the sphere of domestic and social life; because the child does not belong to its parents but to the State and the duty of the State is to protect the weak against the views of such teachers; because toleration was not to be exercised against intolerants. It was significant for the situation of affairs that the then ruling radical party included precisely at that time in its platform the following demands with regard to the Church. The party desires the absolute supremacy of the civil power; and by the suppression of the religious orders, by the confiscation of the property held mortmain, and lastly by the abolition of the budget of public worship, intends to effect the realization of the decisive demand of the Liberals. France did not have to wait long to see this program carried out.

The era of Waldeck-Rousseau was succeeded by the era of Combes, and the pin-pricking policy of the former was followed by the billy methods of the latter. The spirit of the Kulturkampf was unleashed and rushed madly on, crushing everything in its path. The seed which Voltaire had sown was bearing fruit. Surely this past master in hatred of Church and religion could have looked with complacence on these pupils of his. Freemasonry reaped the fruits of its persistent efforts "by employing all possible means to get its members into influential

government offices," and thus "to effect the separation of Church and State."[5]

The elections of 1902 still further increased the number of anti-Catholic and anti-religious bigots who were already in the majority. Radicalism and Socialism held full and arbitrary sway. Combes disregarded the intentions and promises of his predecessor and by a pliable majority vote rejected all the applications for approval which were made by the teaching and preaching orders. In this way he transformed the law of supervision into a law of exclusion. He could boast of having closed down from 22,000 to 23,000 religious houses and (with the assistance of Rouvier and Clémenceau) 16,000 of the 17,000 existing Catholic schools. The principle of the moral unity of the country, "One King, One Creed," which prompted Louis XIV. to abolish the Edict of Nantes and which had already scintillated through the speeches of Jules Ferry, drove the powers that were to combat with ever growing fervor what they considered the old-fashioned and dangerous religion of authority; and to erect in its stead the pre-Christian and anti-Christian ideal of an almighty state in the spirit of Caesaropapism. The circular letter of the Minister of the Interior, dated April 1, 1904, contained a more than usually offensive measure, which instructed all Prefects to have all religious emblems (crucifixes) removed from all court-rooms and chancelleries. This measure was immediately carried out in spite of the circumstance that it was just Holy Week and that many of the aldermen and court officials being Catholic would be offended thereby. Only three months previously Maxime Lecomte, who also belonged to the Left, stated in the Senate Chamber: "We are not contemplating in the removal of religious emblems any harm whatever to the interests of art or any violence to treasured traditions." New Kulturkampf laws appeared in 1904 which put a definite end to all religious schools and houses. The much debated freedom of instruction (Falloux Law) remained undecided for the time being; but it had become, as Louis Maret at that time already realized, nothing more than a tempting bait.

Hitherto the leaders of the Kulturkampf had stood by the concordat and the secular clergy. They pretended that they wished to defend the secular clergy against the encroachment of the regulars and that in their opposition to the "side-church" (Seitenkirche) they were acting only in accord with the spirit of the concordat, which made no mention of the orders. Of course, since the religious orders and schools had disappeared, and the "treasures" of the dead hand had been emptied into the pockets of the notorious liquidators, the "Main Church" was next

5 Such was the confession of an anonymous contributor to the feuilleton section of the "Tägliche Rundschau," June 24, 1915, No. 144, who if not a Freemason himself, certainly betrayed such affinities.

in order.[6] For a long time they hesitated to tamper with the concordat since it was feared.[7] But now the time seemed ripe and public opinion disposed for the last mighty work of "liberation from the yoke of intellectual slavery" which, of course, was always synonymous with domination of the clergy, never with that of the Freemasons or the captains of finance.

One of the most venomous leaders of the Kulturkampf, the well-known romance-writer Anatole France, let out just at that time the motives of the struggle. *The separation of Church and State* he maintained, in his base polemical pamphlet "Church and Republic," is aimed directly at the fundamental principle of the Church; she is essentially founded on the principle of unity; this unity can be maintained only in a State that is bound by a concordat. . . . After the separation the State will no longer bother about discriminating between orthodox and schismatic bishops and the laity will in consequence range themselves around both. . . . Freedom produces differences. Sects and schismatic communities will arise and the unity of allegiance will be undermined.[8] These statements lead us to the remotest sources of the agitation for separation; namely to subjectivism in philosophy and religion—sources which were, of course, strongly polluted by the influx of hatred and prejudice.

This same pamphlet, which at that time obtained a wide circulation and which was partly the cause that the Moderates had such a small voice in the drafting of the separation laws, attacked the thesis of Montalembert-Goblet of a "free Church in a free State"; that is, the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs on the basis of common law. In this way it strengthened the already existing tendency to effect the separation in a manner not provided for by law. From the most trifling motives, writes Faguet,[9] if not from no motive whatever, and with a precipitation characteristic of an angry child, an ignorant and rash party such as can readily be raised by violent language and braggadocio, took advantage of a few misunderstandings with Rome to break off diplomatic relations with the Roman Curia; any conciliatory government or for that matter, any well-balanced government would not only have settled the differences in a few minutes, but even brushed them aside as non-existing. The next step was the rupture of the concordat without any

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[6] The Duez Case. In 1901 a special appraisal valued the property of religious orders at a "milliard" (a billion francs), an alluring bait, which in reality, according to a statement given out in the senate by Régismauset (1909) dwindled down to one-fourth of that, and of this the state received only a "few crumbs."

[7] The principle: "The Kulturkampf is no article of export," had become an article of faith. The law of July 8, 1904, which rendered all education by religious impossible contained the following provision: "The novitiates of the teaching Orders must be abolished with the exception of those which educate the personnel for French schools abroad, in the colonies or in such places as are under the protection of France." Neither did the Law of Separation apply to most of the colonies.

[8] L'Église et la République (1914, 14th Thousand) 113.

[9] l. c. 239, 236, etc.

regard whatever for the rights of the other contracting party. In the same one-sided way the French government controlled and carried out the separation, not considering that separation really means only that Church and State should be independent of one another, not that they should not compromise in matters touching both parties. The ruling party was not possessed of sufficient good-will to carry out with justice and broadmindedness such a sweeping innovation. The true motive for the separation was revealed by Reveillant in the following words: "To extirpate Catholicism it is absolutely necessary to effect a separation of Church and State." The law of separation which went into effect January 1, 1906, excluded the Church from civil law in which her existence as such had always been recognized and her relations to the state determined. Since that date all budgets of public worship have been suppressed (Art. 2, par. 1), whilst the confiscation of church property during the French Revolution always implied at least the perpetual obligation on the part of the State to raise the necessary funds for defraying the expenses of worship and supporting the clergy. The departments and the communes are permitted therefore to support charitable, philanthropic and such like institutions, yes, even workingmen's syndicates but not—religious organizations! All religious institutes which earned, possessed and administered moneys necessary for Church purposes were abolished. In the narrow-minded effort to restrict the action of the churches to the mere exercise of worship, it was ordained by law that the estate of ecclesiastical benevolent associations should be turned over to the corresponding State or communal institutions. How Church funds were alienated from their purpose by this measure and what an injustice this measure contained may be seen, for example, from the circumstance, that those funds which had been hitherto set aside for education in the sense of the Church, now were given over to the communes, in whose schools religious instruction is tabooed. The legal actions, as provided for by common law, which the donors as well as their heirs brought against the government for recovery of donations diverted from their original purpose, were subjected to an unfavorable inquiry, since a too radical reduction of the amount of church property to be confiscated did not harmonize with the plans of the ruling parties (Rothenbuecher).

The government failed to profit by the experiences of the State in North America where the Church succeeded, in the face of the greatest possible difficulties and in opposition to the prevailing spirit of religious individualism, in obtaining from the State recognition of its constitution and of its legal right to existence. The government of France, however, strove "to strike a blow at the very heart of Canon Law" (Kahl) by

attempting through arbitrary legislation to force upon the visible and universal Catholic Church, which has a divine right to existence, the constitution of a juridical local society. By means of private-law associations for religious worship (associations cultuelles) whose charter was as meager and narrow-minded as one can well imagine, the hierarchically constituted Church was to be imbued with the democratic Zeitgeist, and the one solid Church to be blown up into many churches. That was the manner in which they wished to deal ecclesiastical authority a death-blow. The associations for public worship about to be formed were accorded only the juridical personality provided by the Law of Associations for registered associations, but they were placed under the supervision of the State, a supervision otherwise imposed only on public utility associations. Thus they could indeed be parties to an action in court, but could not accept any gifts or foundations. Viewed in connection with the arbitrary restrictions which were placed upon the establishment of a reserve fund and which are alien to the provisions of the common law, this procedure means nothing else than a compulsion "to remain always on the basis of the association," and the impossibility "of making worship independent of the changing status and contributions of the faithful."

For this reason the Academician Etienne Lamy could call the basic text of the Separation Law a law "which abolished the concordat but supported the organic articles" and added the abuses arising from the separation to the abuses of the concordat. The acceptance by the Church of the insignificant part of church property which was held out as a bait would have been regarded as the receipt in full for the church robberies, the approval of the unnatural servitude. Pius X knew that the Separation Law, in the mind of the ruling party, was only an "intermezzo in the unmerciful war on the Christian religion."[10] On account of his condemnation of the Law, however, and his rejection of the associations for public worship (associations cultuelles), not only the whole estate of the existing ecclesiastical establishments was transferred to the local public benevolent associations, but also all episcopal residences, presbyteries, seminaries and other immovable effects serving similar purposes became the property of the State or the departments or the communes.

The Church had therefore become an organization without rights and without means. There remained to her, doubly robbed, only the use, without legal title, of the edifices which had heretofore been used for Catholic worship. Under certain conditions even the churches might by a decree be devoted to other purposes. That this desecration is no longer a rare thing, and to what extent blind passion figures in these

[10] Faguet l. c. 229.

Kulturkampf-measures has been shown more than once by Maurice Barrès, lately in his book "La grande pitié des églises de France."[11] Article 13 of the Separation Law contains five instances when the State may close down a church; the first is "deficient maintenance." The new proprietor (State or commune) has indeed the legal right of maintenance, but no such obligation. Whenever, therefore, the communes by a majority vote decide negatively, the maintenance will be refused, or delayed, or shaken off, or only half granted. In this way, in 1911, 45 churches, "these pure sources of national and moral life," (Barrès), were pointed out which were threatening to collapse.

The laicization, which these leaders of the Kulturkampf are carrying on, is downright destruction, barbarity. The number of those who rave against churches, Passion groups (Ölberge) and cemeteries, and who endanger the culture of the soul, is ever on the increase. "We philosophers and literary men are powerless. The Church of France needs Saints." Things have come to a strange pass, an unheard-of crisis when we hear such a desideratum from the mouth of the pupils of Renan and Théophile Gautier.[12]

What Catholic would not wish to add his voice to this stirring cry of this hyper-nationalist Barrès? But precisely in this regard did the separation of Church and State, inflict a deep wound on the Church. Since the Separation Law an acute crisis has developed in the recruiting of young men for the clerical state, a condition of affairs which causes all concerned grave and lasting anxiety. The lower middle classes restrain their sons from entering the proscribed and despoiled sanctuary. Those who come nevertheless, are better candidates, but this thinning down of the clerical ranks in becoming disastrous, for in consequence of it whole villages are without any spiritual attention. Although a few parishes may, through this state of affairs, approach closely to the ideal of pastoration, still a great many more will be deprived of even the ordinary spiritual attention which they have been receiving.

After the greater, sensational acts of the Kulturkampf legislation had been accomplished and little remained to be done beyond introducing the monopoly of laicized education, a secret, unobtrusive Kulturkampf steadily went on. In another article, in which he contends for legislative regulation of the duty of maintaining the churches in repair, Barrès reports a vicious, death-dealing thesis which circulated from mouth to mouth in the lobbies of the Chamber. It was this: The present condition of things gives us a means to let the village churches crumble to ruins. We have the strangle-hold on Catholicism. We can crush it under cut

11 Paris 1914.
12 Barrès in the "Echo de Paris," Aug. 27, 1911. Compare the above mentioned book pp. 347, etc.

stones. (Who is not reminded of Voltaire!) Let us take care not to agree to the legislative regulation (concerning the maintenance of churches) that is demanded.[13]

Who declined this regulation by law and thus allowed the country to fall a prey to ever increasing barbarity? The ruling majority in the French Chamber of Deputies. And who daily kept urging the Kulturkampf onward by showing the preferences and employing the vexatious tactics of an executive and a judiciary inspired by the most narrow-minded partisanship, thus preventing poor working men and peasants from enjoying the benefits of new laws (for instance, of the Workingmen's Pension Law), because they did not vote for the government candidate, and causing all candidates who had received their preliminary education in the free schools to fail in the examinations, while three-fourths of the candidates from the State schools passed?[14] The French government and its officials. Who has again and again evoked the terrifying spectre of anti-clericalism and given new life and energy to the Kulturkampf when difficulties loomed up threateningly? The French government. Who tore the traditional bond between France and the Church and thus deprived, according to Leo III, "the nation of a part of its moral strength and its great influence in the world"? The French government.

Who, by a systematically planned and methodically carried out Kulturkampf has made the French people an "atheistic people," now Christian only in that it feeds on the treasures accumulated in its Christian days?[15] The French government, and its satellites, who, too much engrossed by their civil war politics and the pursuit of selfish interests, did not recognize the true interests of the country, and gave only half-heed to foreign politics; but finally, in their perplexity, yielded to the newly awakened nationalism even against their pacifistic inclinations, and participating in the policy of the isolation of Germany, goaded the poor nation towards that collapse, which is even now projecting the shadows of confusion of ideas upon clear minds.

When the French Kulturkampf is viewed as a whole, in its history, its undisguised purposes and actuating tendencies, the absurdity of the assertion that Bismarck transplanted it from Germany to France becomes immediately evident. Its anti-Christian and atheistic spirit was entirely alien to the Chancellor, who was a conservative man and, also in the

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[13] "Le Matin," November 25, 1912.

[14] As Narfon has only recently again been obliged to attest ("Figaro," August 14, 1915: Un singulier cas de justice distributive). Cf. The chapter Exemples d'anticléricalisme indéfendable in Chéradame, La Crise française (1912) 259 et seq.

[15] This is not our statement, as the anonymous missionary (49) asserts, but that of the Catholic Tavernier in an article entitled Un peuple athée in the "Correspondant" of June 25, 1913. Like other German writers, so also the author of the present paper, in his publications on France, has repeatedly directed the attention of the German Catholics to the progress of the French Church, partial though it be and due rather to individuals.

years of the Kulturkampf, an Evangelical Christian. The *Prussian Kulturkampf* was not directed against Christianity, nor even against the Catholic Church as such, but against its freedom and position of power. Whatever went beyond that in the course of the struggle were means of war, not destined to remain as permanent conditions.

Unlike the French Kulturkampf the German Kulturkampf has actually no precedents. We may indeed speak of a State Church tradition in the Prussian ecclesiastical politics and characterize the Kulturkampf of the seventies as, in a certain sense, a relapse into these traditions. In Bismarck, too, a goodly portion of these old-Prussian politico-ecclesiastical tendencies were alive. But his political realism preserved him from making himself the slave of any tradition, however old, and from attachment, however loose, to any doctrine. Doctrinaires of every liberal and religious shade, were, as a matter of course, urging to war against the hated stronghold of reaction ever since the vigorous development of the Catholic Church consequent upon the kindly ecclesiastical policy of Frederick William IV.

However, even as late as 1869, Bismarck, in referring to the fidelity displayed by the Catholics in 1848, had manifested his aversion to all politico-ecclesiastical legislation of a discriminative nature. Even during his sojourn in France (1870-1871), his plans as to Clericalism, were contained, as J. B. Kissling[16] expresses it, within the bounds of conservative velleities, the support of the Prussian Catholics for his policy seeming to him altogether desirable. But changes of sentiment came as rapidly in those days as events. Overnight, as it were, Bismarck decided upon the Kulturkampf. Naturally he gladly availed himself of the Kulturkampf tendencies of the time to attain his ecclesiastico-political end. To his zeal for the Prussian conception of the state there was now joined, upon his glorious return from France, the care for the firm establishment of the youthful Empire. "For me the *noli me tangere* is the position of power in Europe of united Germany, which ought to be sensibly regarded as the most precious gem in the Papal treasury." Through misunderstanding, prejudice and exaggerated zeal there arose doubts in him precisely on this point. He did not any more measure with the old measure when the Centre Party (Fraktion des Zentrums), which had in the meantime been formed to represent Catholic interests, seemed to him to assume "an aggressive attitude towards the new Empire and its government." He conceived a deep grudge against the party which, he thought, was putting obstacles in his way by its "tactless and inopportune attitude," when he was trying to develop his young creation.

16 Geschichte des Kulturkampfes im Deutschen Reiche I (Freiburg 1911) 362. Cf. this volume also for what follows.

The Party sank still lower in his esteem because it had received among its members the Bavarian particularists and the Guelph Windthorst.

"I was first drawn into the Kulturkampf," Bismarck declared later at a session of the Prussian Diet (April 21, 1887), "by the attack of a strong party, that was built up on foundations deserving of respect, by the attack which the Centre made on the government in a moment when the Empire was still on weak foundations. The Centre Party proposed to us, in the very first debate on the Address, difficult questions and resolutions which did not exactly betray kindly feeling nor the inclination to support the Empire. These relations were extended to the Papal Curia by our complaint in Rome about the attitude of a party which had received its electoral votes on the basis of the Papal authority which it intended to represent. In Antonelli's time we had received favorable replies; later, in consquence of German influences, refusals to interfere. Thus we were led to regard the Curia as the confederate of an internal party against which we thought it necessary to defend ourselves, because it attacked the Empire in its foundations."

Realist that he was in politics, he had learned just at that time to esteem the moral influence of the Pope more and more—and also to fear it. "For me the Pope is, in the first place, a political factor, and I have an innate respect for all real powers and forces. A man who controls the consciences of 200,000,000 people is for me a great monarch, and I would not hesitate in the least, if the circumstances counseled it, to seek mediation or even arbitration by the Pope also in political matters." Similarly he thought later that hardly any other personality could influence Prussian affairs as powerfully as the Pope. It was against this influence of the Pope and the Centre Party that his imperious will revolted. Besides this, the Chancellor occasionally also asserted that the beginning of the Kulturkampf was determined principally by the Polish side of it; that the purposes and successes of Ultramontanism had shown themselves first and in a special manner in Posen, West Prussia, etc., where very large districts, that had long ago become German, were Polonized in the interests of Clericalism. However, be that as it may, so much is certain that both processes of thought which urged him to the Kulturkampf were *essentially of a political nature.* "On no consideration would I wage a purely religious war; were it not for the leading consideration in politics, the question of power, I would not have entered into this fight with such determination, as I do not wage war against religious conviction" (Reichstag, Nov. 30, 1881).

When the attempt to induce the Curia to intervene against the Centre failed, Bismarck opened the unhappy era of the Kulturkampf by abolishing the Catholic section of the Ministry of Worship, whose

sphere had hitherto been the relations of the Catholic Church to the Prussian State (June 8, 1871). In the same spirit were conceived the so-called *"Kanzelparagraph"* (December 10, 1871), which was directed against the "abuse of the pulpit," and the law on School Supervision (March 11, 1872), which deprived the Church of the right of co-supervision with the State over all education, and accorded the latter supervision even over religious instruction. After the resultless dispatch regarding the Papal election, whose object was to bring about intervention by the Powers in such election (May 14, 1872), and after the expulsion of the Jesuits *("Reichsgesetz betreffend den Orden der Gesellschaft Jesu"* of July 4, 1872), the subversion of the ecclesiastico-political laws of Prussia was begun in the so-called May Laws *(Maigesetze),* whose purpose was, to use Bismarck's expression, to "define the respective limits of priestly domination and the royal power." In reality, however, their purpose was the subjugation of the Catholic Church to the Prussian State. In view of the deep anchorage of the Centre Party in the Catholic people, of the impossibility of applying properly and justly the unfortunate campaign slogan "Ultramontanism" in contradistinction to Catholicism, and of the strange and pitiless logic with which historical events of this kind succeed each other, it was inevitable that the struggle against the Centre immediately became for Bismarck a struggle against the Church. In this he joined unto himself all the enemies of the Church, Liberals and such other kindred spirits (Freemasons) as had turned their back upon positive religion and visualized in the beginning struggle the dawn of a new era. The hotter the battles and the wilder the waves of religious agitation grew, the more the Conservatives, too, were drawn into the Kulturkampf frenzy. As it was, they had allowed themselves to be thrown into a state of unjustifiable uneasiness and excitement by the Syllabus and the Vatican Council. Also in Old-Catholicism the Chancellor saw a welcome ally and the first step towards what his confederates, and perhaps he, too, in weak moments, dreamed of as the ultimate object of the struggle—the establishment of a national church, independent of Rome. The promoters of the industrial and commercial "boom" ("Gründertum"), members of the bourse and captains of finance also willingly lent him aid; for it was in their interest to direct the public attention away from their activities. Besides, after the fall of von Mühler, the minister of worship, Bismarck found in Dr. Falk a successor who "united in himself the traditions of the Old Prussian State Church idea and the instincts of modern religious Liberalism," and soon became "the standard-bearer in the struggle against Rome."

After the amendment (and later abrogation) of the article of the Constitution which guaranteed the independence and autonomy of the

Church, new laws were enacted which cut deeply into the life of the Church, laws concerning the education and appointment of the clergy, concerning the Church's right of punishment, and the establishment of a King's court for ecclesiastical affairs with the right to deprive officials of the Church of their office, to define the limits of the Church's right of punishment, and to regulate apostasy from the Church. The bishops refused their coöperation toward the execution of these laws; Pope Pius IX declared them null and void. The government, however, was determined to carry them out. As a result the struggle immediately became most violent. The bishops and many priests had to submit to imprisonment and fines. "Depositions" from office became the order of the day. But the Catholics all bore the sacrifices willingly that the struggle for the freedom and legal status of their Church imposed upon them and from beginning to end offered passive resistance to the laws which violated their conscience. In the following year there was enacted a new series of ecclesiastico-political laws "to confirm, explain and render more stringent" the previous ones. Among them were the Civil Marriage Law, extended to the whole Empire in 1874, and the *"Reichsacht"* or Law for the Expulsion of Priests, passed by the Imperial Diet. They were followed in 1875 by other laws of a decidedly militant character, foremost among them the so-called *"Sperrgesetz,"* which provided that the salary payable by the State be withheld to recalcitrant clergymen.

In the following years there was an ebb in the Kulturkampf spirit in consequence of the dawning conviction that the undertaking was not a success. The Conservative Roon had long thought that the Kulturkampf laws had "in some points gone considerably farther than was necessary for their political purpose and was contemplated in the original intentions of the ministry." Similar utterances became more and more frequent. The realist politician that Bismarck always was, could not long close his eyes to the fact that the enactments concerning the education of the clergy were "a chase on horseback after wild geese, a chase that will never lead to the goal"; that "much of what one would be inclined to declare pillars of the State is nothing but stucco and plaster, not at all necessary for the existence of the Prussian State, in fact, quite dispensable." It must have been hard for him to acknowledge that he had erred, that he had ventured too far in his warfare on the Catholic Church in general and on the Centre Party in particular. But he marched with determination on the way which led to the abolition of the May Laws when inner-political and parliamentarian exigencies of a new kind arose and the elevation of Leo XIII. to the Papal throne considerably smoothed the way. Not the employment of force, but organic growth henceforth appeared to him as the ideal way. "Against our defects nothing else

will avail so much as the gradual strengthening of the national consciousness in every German,—also in him who wears the cassock,—in a greater measure than has heretofore been the case" (Herrenhaus, April 12, 1886).

This much concerning the German Kulturkampf. Its difference from the French and its contrast to the latter are immediately evident. While the leaders of the French Kulturkampf, from Gambetta-Ferry to Combes-Briand, who were not Christians, sought, by well-calculated successive secularizations, to promote the supremacy of a science inimical to revelation and of a reason and freedom opposed to Christianity, the German Kulturkampf, at least in the intention of its leaders, never questioned the truth and the universal validity of Christianity. Goyau,[17] too, sees in it nothing else than "the last struggle between the Church of Rome and Josephinism. . . . After the Vatican Council Josephinism, against which the entire development of the Church was growing ever more irrevocably opposed, made a last stand; it called to its assistance Bismarck's omnipotence. But in 1886 and 1887 Bismarck, grown tired of the old-fashioned guest, seemed inclined to inter him with his own hands."

No doubt there were among us many elements of the Left who were filled with hatred of the Catholic Church, some even with hatred of Christianity. But they were not the real powers behind the Kulturkampf, but only auxiliary troops, whom Bismarck made use of to gain his political ends, and whom he "crowded to the wall," when he did not need them any more. In the conduct of the Kulturkampf they never managed to seize the helm. Even in the days when the most odious police measures were taken against the bishops, the priests and the people, and the passionate excitement was most intense, the struggle never degenerated into those wild orgies of the secular spirit unchained, which we have so often seen doing the work of destruction in France. As far as Bismarck is concerned, we find Goyau again defending him: "He was certainly not a Freemason; he was right in defending himself against that accusation. Nor should the fanatical hatred be attributed to him, which sometimes animates certain Lutherans."[18] There is no doubt: Bismarck was a believing Evangelical Christian. According to a statement by Busch (Tagebuchblätter I, 247) he could not conceive how it is possible, without faith in a revealed religion, in God who wills the good, in a Supreme Judge, and a future life, to live together in an orderly manner, to do one's duty and to give unto every man his own. If nevertheless he attacked the Catholic Church, it was due, according to Goyau, to his too individualistic conception of religion. The idea of the Christian State can have only two interpretations in Protestant Prussia: either

17 "Révue hebdomadaire" of February 8, 1913, in an article entitled "Le Culturkampf."
18 Bismarck et l'Église. Le Culturkampf II (Paris 1911) 13.

government of society by God or bureaucratic rule by pietists. Neither suited Bismarck. . . . He required of God the courage and the zeal that are necessary to serve the State. . . . God interested him greatly, but not as the foundation of the State, but rather as the motive force and support of Bismarckian energy.[19]

No doubt Bismarck went beyond the boundaries of the Empire in his Kulturkampf zeal in the years 1873-1875, in order to make it an "article of export." But for all that Bismarck did not dream of "a sort of moral dictatorship of Germany over the world," in the sense of the equation: Germanism equals Protestantism, as Goyau imagines (31). He had begun the struggle against the Church and desired to come out of it victorious. In order to render victory certain, he turned his attention also to those factors outside of Germany who might help to make the victory doubtful. He was determined not to permit the Church to obtain assistance from the outside. He thought that he was bound, even at the cost of war, to proceed against outside bishops who received their orders from Rome and agitated against Germany. For this reason he could not see his way "to advise the King to encourage the monarchical Right in France, as it would involve a strengthening of the ultramontane element hostile to us" (to Count Arnim, December 20, 1872). In his solicitude for the Kulturkampf he feared that there might be formed in France a focus of Catholic reaction (Gontaut-Biron). Along with the fear that re-Catholicized France, led or at least encouraged by the Pope, might declare war upon Germany to deliver the German Catholics from the oppression of the Kulturkampf, he had a political end in view in thus favoring anti-Catholic and anti-government Republicanism in France. This was the isolation of France, which was to serve the monarchical states of Europe as an object lesson of the dangers of a republic. How constant and exclusively decisive this political end was is proved by the fact that not long afterwards he declared it "very good that the clerical tendency was uppermost in France, because that would weaken her power of defense" (Poschinger, Tischgespräche I, 92). In connection with this we must not omit to mention that William I. and Count Arnim, then ambassador in Paris, differed from Bismarck in the question of the restoration of the monarchy. They had more of what Bismarck termed the "little practical" concern for the preservation of the monarchical-conservative idea, the idea of the solidarity of the European monarchies. They valued the positive elements involved in the Catholic monarchy, even when represented by the hermit-like Count Chambord, more highly and more correctly. It is, therefore, a misrepresentation when Goyau (31 ff.) pretends to see in this attempt at intimidation in

[19] Bismarck et l'Église, II, 12.

the interest of his ecclesiastical policy a purpose reaching far into the future and connecting the present war with the first Kulturkampf as its continuation and completion. Bismarck was too much of a realistic politician to have "dreamed" of such a thing. The development of the Kulturkampf showed him more and more clearly how real is the power of the Catholic Church, and what political folly it would be to pave the way, in any manner whatsoever, for a new Kulturkampf, and thereby burden his barely developed creation with a mortgage so uncertain and so useless. It is absurd, then, to assert that he meditated an international Kulturkampf, which would "endanger international law," or that, possibly, he paved the way for the violation of Belgian neutrality.

Bismarck did not permit the breach with Rome to continue, as the leaders of the French Kulturkampf did, but established the Prussian embassy to the Vatican, and repaired much of the injustice he had done the Church. In admiration of this Goyau[20] wrote before the World War: The character of Prussia and Germany—a character impressed upon them by the history of many centuries—was for the whole of Christendom an additional reason to sit up and take notice, since this so-called Evangelical kingdom, *this so-called Evangelical Empire acknowledged the autonomy of the Church of Rome and the sovereignty of the Papacy over this Church with a magnanimity and courteous grace that Catholic kingdoms and empires have seldom shown.*

The Kulturkampf, therefore, brought to Bismarck and to the Prussian government the valuable and lasting conviction that disputed questions of church policy and cultural progress can not be solved by means of a Kulturkampf, but only by way of peaceful and intelligent coöperation of Church and State. They had the less cause for departing from this way in the times that followed, as the Catholics rapidly adapted themselves to the new conditions and did their honest share in the work of upbuilding the Empire, despite their deeply-rooted hopes of a Greater Germany (*Grossdeutschland*—a federation of the German states under the leadership of Austria. Transl.) and despite the injustices of the Kulturkampf. The Catholics felt a deep joy in the greatness and glory of the new Empire and were soon among its strongest pillars, thanks to their organized stratification—a stratification deeply rooted in German and Christian tradition. The conservative disciple of Stein, Frederick König, remarks most aptly: "Incorporation with German Catholicism means incorporation with the civic and political life of the German people." Could the government then be guilty of the folly of again disturbing the organic growth of the Empire by proscribing 24,000,000 of its subjects!

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20 "Revue hebdomadaire," February 8, 1913.

And it is pretended that this Empire, for which, according to the French Nationalist Bainville, time itself works, and which, according to the same writer, may lay claim to full hegemony in virtue of its natural growth,—this Empire, it is pretended, began the war to cause a Kulturkampf in France, a country which at least prior to the war, was completely dominated by the secular spirit and where four-fifths of the people were outside the influence of the Church! Since 1912 it clearly apprehended the aggressive policy of the *balance of power* of the nations seeking to isolate it. "William II. is too calculating, his comprehension of high politics too developed not to seek to account for it satisfactorily." Thus the realistic politician Bainville,[21] who did not live in a realm of dreams like so many of his compatriots.

But not only the government, also the Church in Germany was changed by the Kulturkampf. Not, indeed, in the sense of Canon Gaudeau, who speaks of a "hypocritical declericalization of German and Austrian Catholicism" (28[1]). Nor in the sense of the missionary already mentioned, who asserts that at bottom the Kulturkampf was more successful than is generally thought. Its purpose, he imagines, was to nationalize German Catholicism by separating it from Rome, that it might be formed into a docile tool in the hands of the Emperor and the Empire. The means did not lead to the end, *but the result has been attained in its fashion* (49). These indiscriminate insinuations against German Catholicism are based on complete ignorance of the facts, despite the introductory commendation that they are from "an undoubtedly competent man and based on documentary evidence" (VI). They can at most be explained to some extent by the conscienceless disseminations of the Integralist Benigni press ("La Vigie") against Germany. They are best refuted by the words of Goyau, who studied German Catholicism too long and too thoroughly to join in these baseless vituperations. He writes in the paper last quoted: "In the course of the Kulturkampf the Church in Germany had acquired a clearer and higher consciousness of the most fundamental spirit of Catholicism. Moreover, she had to win victories not only over the State, but in a certain measure also over herself, over a certain spirit of German independence, over certain scientific sensibilities which were then mortified by Rome. . . . This result of critical, often very trying hours, tested the strength of the bonds that united the German Church to the Holy See. The test proved that the Germany of the time of Leo XIII. was not any more the Germany, in which a hundred years before the mistrustful Punctation of Ems had been drawn up, nor that which the theologian Wessenberg somewhat later had sought to unite against Rome."

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21 "Action française, October 12, 1912.

Why! This French expert, too, has received the testimony of "dogmatic reliability and absolute fidelity to the Church" (VI). Therefore he must have known what he was writing about, when, as late as 1913, he made this assertion. Nor did he restrict it in any way by adding that, possibly, in later times there had been a defection from the "most fundamental spirit" of Catholicism within the German Church.

In a pamphlet entitled "Respect aux églises de France"[22] we find, on one page, a picture of the church at Montreux-Château; it is poor and dilapidated. On the opposite page a view of the church at Montreux-Vieux, with its slender tower. "Between the two there is a distance of only one kilometer! The one going to ruin is in France; the new one in Alsace. German money defrayed the expense of its reconstruction. *Sunt lacrymae!*" These pathetic words appeared in the "Echo de Paris," March 20, 1911—a journal which then, as now, hurled its chauvinistic calumnies against "barbarous" Germany. Are we wrong in supposing that in setting the pictures of these two churches side by side, it intended that the contrast should appear as what in truth it is—a *symbol?*

Symbol! There a Church that was once among the most precious jewels of the World Church, but which was not able to defend itself against the Kulturkampf. In consequence thereof its parishes are in part deserted, its churches are crumbling to ruins, for they have been deprived of everything necessary for continued existence and orderly function. The misfortune of the French Catholics was that they never seriously thought of building up patiently from within and from below. They were more intent upon external political successes, and therefore preferred to side with the person or party that seemed willing and strong enough to guarantee these successes. Thus with Napoleon III. in 1851, thus with Boulanger in 1889 and with Nationalism in 1914-1915. It is true there has been, since the execution of the Laws of Separation, a fundamental renovation in all fields of religious activity, especially in the larger cities. It has matured beautiful results and gained for the Church new sympathies among the cultured, and many adherents. But the senseless pledging of itself to a blind nationalism and the unscrupulous participation in the latter's campaign of slander and agitation will give the French Church another considerable set-back and endanger a great deal of what had just begun to burst into promising bloom.

Symbol! Here a Church, which, since the Reformation, under changing rulers, has had changing fortunes, not always glorious ones, but which has seen a splendid revival in the 19th century. None other than Goyau, in his four volumes, "L'Allemagne religieuse: Le Catholicisme" has sought to describe, with sympathy and knowledge, the

22 Publ. in 1911 by the "Comité catholique de défense religieuse."

tangled complexity of causes that have effected this rise. It was tedious detail work from 1830 to 1870—a time of slow inner strengthening and gathering of the awakening powers for final achievement. The fruits of this preparatory activity showed themselves in the Kulturkampf forced upon the Church in Germany and especially in Prussia. The clergy, nobility and people, Catholic officials and Catholic members of the different legislative bodies, arose as one man, and suffered themselves to be deterred by no oppression and no penalty from fighting for the freedom of their Church until the Kulturkampf collapsed before the solid wall of men strong in the faith. What then was achieved of courage and faith and strength of faith, of capacity for enthusiasm and discipline, of fidelity to Church and sense of organization is to this day the pride and the ornament of the German Church. She had many difficulties to overcome even after the Kulturkampf,—difficulties, which, like the aspersions of the "Integralists," were fostered and spread especially in France.[23] But she has always surmounted these difficulties. And today she stands glorious before the world with her 24,000,000 Catholics, her stately churches that are always filled, with her societies that meet almost every need, with her power of social conciliation, with her well edited press.

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23 Thus, for instance, the chauvinist M. Legendre wrote: "Prussianized Germany, in its collapse, is not only unreligious, but actively anti-religious." For this and on account of Alsace-Lorraine he claims for France the right of punishing Germany. Olphe-Galliard, however, questions France's right precisely because in France religiousness was long ago banished from official circles and is rapidly vanishing among the masses (Bulletin de la Semaine 1912, p. 599, and 1913, p. 3).

13. Catholicism and Protestantism in Modern Germany.

By Canon Dr. Francis Xavier *Kiefl* in Regensburg.

WHEN in 1670 the French aspirations after world supremacy began to cloud the political horizon of Germany, Leibniz wrote: "As of yore Greece and later Italy, so Germany is today the bone of contention; the ball which they who play the game of world politics toss one to another; the arena in which the battle for the hegemony of the world will be fought. In short, Germany will continue to be the cause of bloody discord until she will have awakened, become united and unified, and will thus frustrate the hopes of all those that are trying to win her."[1]

There is no greater catastrophe recorded in the annals of the German people than its religious schism. Actuated by this fact, Leibniz began his gigantic project to reestablish peace among the religious factions. All great works of this eminent German scholar are embued with that idea. He labored indefatigably in its behalf and appealed in its interest to all the influential courts of Europe. Bishop Spinola congenially assisted the endeavors of Leibniz and, although suffering severely from the gout, had himself carried in a sedanchair to all the minor courts of Europe, there to plead with eloquence and ceaseless energy the cause of religious peace and unity. Rome was favorably disposed towards the undertaking and Bossuet, the proud boast of French Catholicism, gave his support. True, this very interesting exchange of views among such profound intellects brought to light the fact that the rent in the heart of Christendom was irreparable. Still, never before since the fatal rupture had taken place, had there been so intimate a reapproachment of minds. Leibniz, eclipsing Melanchthon's efforts, overcame difficulties which seemed insurmountable and succeeded in eliciting from a Protestant faculty of Theology the secret promise to recognize the divine rights of the Primacy. But the structure reared with so much care and trouble, utterly collapsed. On account of its internal difficulties the plan had been doomed from the outset. Its main personal opponent was, as Spinola complained, Louis XIV who intimidated Pope Innocent XI and inveigled

[1] Klopp, I, 246.

the Duke of Brandenburg, the leader of Protestantism in Germany, against the peace enterprise.

Since that time two centuries and a half have elapsed, but the thorn of religious dissension has remained fast in the heart of the German people.

The question offers itself, what influence does this important mental factor exercise on the present World War. The spirit of Louis XIV still lives. The Catholic historian, Onno Klopp,[2] has shown that King Louis' plan to crush Germany, would have succeeded but for Emperor Leopold I, who frustrated the king's criminal design to wage his war of conquest under the pretense of religion. The authors of the French war-pamphlet are following the example set by this king who as the most resplendent figure of the French nation even now dazzles their imagination. Their object is to persuade Catholics of neutral countries that Germany wages this war for the purpose of making *Protestantism supreme in the world,* that Germanism and Protestantism are identical. In his criticism of German culture Goyau says: I have examined the books of theologians, historians, publishers and politicians which Prussia during the 19th century spread, as so many seeds of her ephemeral greatness, broadcast over entire Germany and I everywhere find a systematic attempt to *identify Protestantism with Germanism* (33).

Goyau's study of German history is unquestionably very superficial, if he feels justified to characterize with the above words the entire century just past. In some parts of his five volumes on "L'Allemagne religieuse" and his four volumes on "Bismarck et l'Église" Goyau evinced an intimate understanding of the intellectual movements which agitate the German mind and we regret his failure to notice that the tendency he describes has been by no means the principal, nay the exclusive feature of German historical science. The historical school imbued with the philosophy of Hegel and Schelling was of decidedly greater importance. This school experienced a marked renaissance during the last decades. Rather than ascribing to Protestantism exclusive right of existence, it holds that we must overcome differences, learn to judge the historical phenomenon of both creeds from a historical point of view from which it will be possible to see the life stream of either, rising from the common fountain of a higher unity. Catholicism and Protestantism are but the two necessary hemispheres in which the Christian idea finds its expression. They supplement each other like the opposite properties of two magnetic poles that merge into a higher unit. It is but natural, they say, that the poetical, speculative, ideal and critical elements of Catholicism and Protestantism reflect the contrarities which of necessity govern the entire

2 See preface of vol. 7 and 8 of the Leibniz edition.

intellectual life and knowledge, now one opinion, often carried to extremes, gaining preponderance, then again tending to congruity and convergency. To Protestantism has been assigned the domain of the stern sciences while the serene arts belong to Catholicism; at least so Schelling, who thought to combine both in this system, assures us.

We by no means admit that this adjustment is either correct or fair to Catholicism; but it proves that Goyau's criticism as well as the conclusions he draws from his premises are intenable. He bases his arguments on the history of the Kulturkampf, which he knows from authentic sources. But speaking of the same period, Father de la Brière arrives at entirely different conclusions. Writing in the Jesuit monthly, "Études," of May, 1915, he says that *thanks to their heroic and uncompromising stand the German Catholics came out of the Kulturkampf with flying colors.* They won a brilliant and decisive victory and did not permit the struggle to be renewed.

Ex ore tuo te judico! Was it not Goyau himself who formerly entertained similar views? Were it not for the fact that the war clouded men's memories, it would not have escaped Goyau that *his former statements are diametrically opposed to his present opinions.* In the fourth volume of his book on Bismarck (p. 222 et seq.) he tells with French eloquence that Germany in the Kulturkampf at first wanted to identify itself with Protestantism, but finally recognized the claims of the Catholic Church and the rights of the Pope with a fairness that has become a shining example for Catholic governments.

The internal condition of Protestantism in Germany *since the Kulturkampf underwent a fundamental change* which reacted radically on the mutual relations of the various Christian denominations. I am referring neither to the statement made two decades ago by representative Protestant theologians that Protestant journals, even the "Reichsbote," were elaborating a Catholic conception of the Church quite at variance with the seventh article of the Augsburg confession; nor to the fact that the process of catholicizing the Evangelical church policy is making steady and inevitable progress; nor to the fact that German Protestantism is undergoing a transmutation into modified forms of life which are drifting towards Catholicism. I refer to a transformation even more profound. Since the Kulturkampf, there has taken place a *great event in Protestant theology* whose interdenominational effects had to the present moment seldom been fully realized. That which despite Schleiermacher touched only the surface of German Protestantism, now penetrated to its very marrow. *The school of Albrecht Ritschl advanced an entirely novel conception of Christianity.* Ritschl, whom his disciples call the last Father of the Lutheran Church, in reality *effected the com-*

plete downfall of Luther's system of faith. The full impact of his influence, however, was felt only a generation later. He inaugurated a modern Christianity disencumbered of the "pessimism of Original Sin," a Christianity without a Godhead or a vicarious redemption, without predestination or miracles of the Holy Ghost, which, according to Luther, are effectuated by faith. The secularization of theology was thus initiated.

These and subsequent statements are made not in a spirit of criticism nor with an apologetic intent, but solely to demonstrate that the internal crisis in Protestantism actually produced an irenical effect on interdenominational relations, an effect of truly prodigious proportions.

He who is acquainted with Luther's impassioned discourses against the reputed Pelagianism of the Catholic Church, cannot but be amazed to see Ritschl's school pursuing a diametrically opposite course, restricting guilt and sin within the narrow confines of deliberate human volition at the risk even (as Wernle successfully convicts Wendt of doing) of encumbering the God-idea with the idea of evil due to the consequently God-entailed sinister mass of objective evil, and, contrary to Luther's example, at the risk of detracting from the seriousness of the conception of guilt.

But this is only one of many examples. Luther had succeeded in placing the minds of his followers so completely under the ban of his influence that during all these long centuries his individual interpretation of Christianity formed the basis of denominational polemics. He who is conversant with the bitter controversies that, since the great schism, have taken place on the field of theology, will concede that particularly those problems which roused the passions most severely, so far as Ritschl and his school is concerned, are without further ado *cast aside.*

The fundamental principle of old Protestantism was the dogmatic system of Luther who, proceeding from the supernaturalistic concept of salvation, reared an edifice of thought from which the dogmas of the old Church and the Catholic philosophy of life appeared as a satanic reflection of things divine. Modern Protestantism, however, voluntarily abandoned this structure, and selected in its stead private judgment as its cardinal dogma. A boundless reverence for the personality of Luther still exists, but his doctrines have been discarded.

Moreover, modern education is inadequate to enable the Protestant laity to grasp the subtle theological distinctions that form the groundwork of Luther's system of faith. Consequently, liberal theology, which in reality deserted Luther's faith, appealed to the majority of the Protestant

laity and the orthodox branch found itself forced into the minority both on the field of science and in practical life.

The conflict between German Protestantism and the Catholic Church lost in acrimony not only because the former found itself engaged within its own border in an internecine struggle for principles, but particularly, because the orthodox party, in regard to fundamental principles which revolve about the divinity of Christ, found itself on common ground to a greater extent with Catholics than with the Liberals. Our historical sketch would not be complete if we omitted to state that orthodox Lutheranism, instead of putting aside differences of the past and emphasizing the causes common to Catholics and Protestants, preferred to ally itself with extreme tendencies such as advocated by Arthur Drew and W. v. Schnehen. Protestant Liberalism, on the other hand, by reason of its emancipation from the faith of Luther, relinquished a multitude of dogmatic and historical prejudices against the Catholic Church. The historian will readily find an explanation for this; for those prejudices were part and parcel of the speculative system of Luther and could not endure after the fall of that system. This facilitates—whatever our opinion of the inner development of Protestantism—a more correct understanding of Catholicism on part of the Protestants, since those prejudices have been for centuries the chief sources of sectarian hatred.

The transformation of Protestantism, then, of necessity brought about a decided change in the evaluation of Catholicism. The modern phase of Protestant theology, unhampered by the speculations of Luther and proceeding from theological and scientific premises, arrived at the same conclusions as Hegel and Schelling did in their history of philosophy, namely that the patriotic and humanitarian tasks of the different creeds supplement one another. What could the recent school of Protestant theologians, who became enthusiastic over the new science of Comparative History of Religion, have in common with Luther's tenets on the primitive state of man and his justification? According to this doctrine, reason was destroyed by original sin, or to use Luther's own expression, turned into a pillar of salt like Lot's wife. From this dogmatic point of view, heathenism is a dead sea of sin and vice, while the science of Comparative History of Religion contends that the best and noblest things in Christianity are the offspring of heathen genius. Because of the limitations inherent to the orthodox Protestant conception of original sin this wide field of research had remained concealed. The Catholic Church, on the other hand, although she emphatically rejects the contention that Christianity is only an epoch in natural evolution, recognized the rays of the Logos that penetrated into the night of pagan-

ism, and consequently from the days of early Christianity to our own times sought and found common ground on which to establish contact with the noblest of pre-Christian culture. No one possessing any adequate knowledge of history will deny that, divorced from Luther's doctrine of justification, which was the soul of the whole movement, the Reformation of the sixteenth century would be historically unthinkable. This idea of Luther has for centuries been the crux of the denominational differences which entered all spheres of human activity. The elimination of this idea was bound to rob numberless questions in the controversy of their keenest edge. This event took place within the last generation.

A few statements by Harnack made on different occasions within the last twenty-five years, will assist us in adjudging the valuation of the Catholic Church by Protestants resulting from the changes of Protestant dogma and of the correlations of their dogmas to all zones of faith and culture. These quotations are of characteristic and symptomatic import because Harnack—who is one of the Emperor's personal advisers, and politically the most influential of all living Protestant theologians—is not inclined to be a priori an advocate of confessional peace and to desist from criticizing Catholicism.

As early as 1891, Harnack put to the League of Evangelical Students in Berlin the question unparalleled in the entire realm of Protestant literature since the beginning of the Reformation: *"What ought we to learn from the Roman Church?"* and defined his position in the following words: ". . . The third thing we ought to learn from the Roman Church is the *idea of catholicity;* the desire of embracing all mankind in a common and effectual brotherhood; the longing for the realization of the ideal of Jesus Christ: 'There shall be but one flock and one shepherd.' I dare say that a sincere Catholic perceives the blessing of a great Christian communion more vividly, feels the schism of Christendom more acutely and recognizes the common tasks of all the faithful more conscientiously than we do. The consciousness of the duty, namely to effect a spiritual union of all men, as children of God and brothers of Christ, is but feebly developed in most of us. . . This grand idea of a communion of Christians embracing all nations cannot be substituted by other ideals. We rejoice when we see a lofty patriotism being fostered in this world of material interests. Yet, how miserable the man who seeks his highest ideal in patriotism or would be led into the delusion that the sumtotal of all possessions is circumscribed by the State. What a reverse after having experienced Jesus Christ in the world. We must, therefore, strive with might and main to effect this union of mankind; we in our small sphere must be less exclusive and more broadminded to

become susceptible of the belief that this brotherhood of men is not a dream of hallucinators but a goal set by the Gospel."[3]

According to Harnack the Protestant Church has also much to learn from *the inner life of the Catholic Church.* In this regard he makes concessions that in former Protestant polemics would have been impossible. Harnack bewails the fact that Protestantism has discarded adoration which is the life of every religion, and that as a consequence the public Evangelical divine services have become doctrinaire. "Herein," he says, "we have much to learn from the Catholic Church. She invites the faithful oftener and more urgently to adoration than we do. I am unable to counsel what we ought to do and how we ought to do it, but I clearly discern what is lacking. We would do well to make the eldest church our model" (P. 254).

Indeed, Harnack does not hesitate to lament that Protestantism in its opposition to the *Mass,* has summarily rejected the *idea of sacrifice*— in spite of the fact that it is in accordance with the New Testament. "This is an unparalleled deviation from the history of religion. For there has never existed a religion but that it was imbued with the idea of sacrifice. . . The word 'sacrifice' sounds almost as harsh to our ears as the word 'virtue.' In each case, great historico-religious revolutions have brought about their repudiation. But for the sake of soundness of our spiritual and internal life, which is altogether too barren, we cannot afford to disregard these schemata" (P. 255).

Harnack, furthermore, declares the substitution of general confession of guilt for *auricular confession* to be a strange and sad mistake. He is opposed to introducing auricular confession as a matter of obligation, but urges the advisability of impressing adults with the fact that, choosing to bear their burdens alone and to keep their fears and hopes locked in their bosoms, they deprive themselves of an excellent means of purifying their souls and of fostering beneficent spiritual communion. "May we not learn from the Catholic Church? and is it not reprehensible folly to destroy the whole tree because of some wormeaten fruit?" (S. 257.)

The Reformation, Harnack furthermore says, has abolished *monasticism* and thereby rid us of a great deal of "coercive religion." "But," he continues, "does monasticism not exemplify a truth? Who that values the institution of our deaconesses will deny it? It was not without opposition that our deaconesses gained recognition during the last decades and we are not as yet prepared to look with favor upon deacons or whatever name we might choose. Still, I do not doubt for one moment that the social and religious misery of our times calls for

[3] Reden u. Aufsätze II. (Giessen 1904), 249.

communities imbued with the same spirit that lived and lives in righteous and pure monks. . . I shall not press this argument on you lest you deem my *pia desideria* (pious desires) too bold and daring. I know, however, that I am not the only one who harbors such wishes; in fact, everyone who has not the courage to permit Protestantism to deteriorate into a denomination of stagnant Christianity, must cherish and share them. And I also know that the history of the Christian Church as manifested in monasticism is more than the history of a monumental delusion" (P. 259).

Harnack then urges toleration, because the aim must be to win, not to crush Catholics. "The attitude of the Roman Church towards us matters not and we shall esteem her and love her members as long as she does not interfere with rights, which we must defend. We cannot deny nor unmake our own history; for *the history of the Catholic Church up to the sixteenth century is our history* and it does not become us, nor does it avail anything, to abuse those that stayed behind."[4]

In his lectures on the essence of Christianity (Wesen des Christentums) (1899, 1900) Harnack raises the question: What has the Roman Catholic Church accomplished? and admits the vast importance of her merits. She educated the Roman-Germanic nations and created their civilization. She has also proved her valor in the political conflicts within the last centuries ("We in Germany," Harnack adds, "feel that sufficiently!"). She still plays an important role in the intellectual field. In western Europe she kept alive the idea of religious independence over against state omnipotence in spiritual matters.[5]

Of still greater importance is another concession made by Harnack. Biased and partial as he is in his criticism of the Roman Church as the heiress of the Roman state, his judgment is to the point when he says that she is *characterized by the spirit of Augustine.* Harnack in this connection eulogizes Augustine as the eminent religious genius who conceived the spiritual God as the rock and the goal of his life, for whom he thirsted and besides whom he desired nothing. He it was who, by his conception of sin and grace, described the workings in the soul of millions so accurately that the experience of 1,500 years are but the repetition of his experience. Harnack adds: *"The internal, vital piety and its external expression in Catholicism are to this very day essentially Augustinian"* (P. 161).

This testimony is all the more valuable since Harnack did not neglect to verify Augustine's piety and theology as the "resuscitation" of *St. Paul's* teaching on sin and grace, guilt and justification, predestination and liberty. Protestant controversialists proceeding from the

4 Die Christliche Welt 1891, No. 18.
5 3rd ed., 153.

Lutheran conception, had until now decried Catholicism as anti-Paulinian; here, however, her fundamental constitution is expressly conceded to be based on an essentially apostolic element. For Harnack states: the Council of Trent, which in many respects deserves to be called a council of reform, formulated the doctrine of sin and grace more profoundly and more accurately than the theology of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,—thanks to the continuous influence of Augustine. His teachings were the lodestar of all eminent Catholics and these in turn continued to instil new life and vigor into the occidental church (P. 162).

In his famous speech, on the occasion of the Emperor's birthday in 1907, speaking on the relations between Catholicism and Protestantism, Harnack again clearly and firmly defined his position and amplified his former statements by valuable concessions. He again declared that unity among its adherents is an inalienable postulate of the Christian religion. Theological science recognizes only too well that not a few of the causes which led to the great schism were founded on historical circumstances which no longer exist.[6]

Harnack in no uncertain terms takes exception to the aim of our times to oust religion and Church, particularly the *Catholic Church, from public life.* If this attempt at the isolation of the Churches succeeded, their influence would steadily wane and become insignificant in the face of external progress, and the time would inevitably come when the nation would eject them as something antiquated. This should not come to pass, Harnack says. For, everything that lives must be accorded the most favorable conditions that are necessary for its existence. In Germany the Christian religion is anchored in the depths of our intellctual and national life, for ever united with our superior being, and no power on earth will prevail against it. In politics concerning religious matters we cannot follow the example of the Latin nations. We must, regardless of creed, cherish the religious life of our nation and keep it in close union with every intellectual and national function. Harnack considers dogmatic and organic amalgamation of the two creeds impossible. Mere toleration, however, is in his opinion not sufficient—*internal recognition* is necessaary. Toleration in this regard, he says, would be but a haughty, intolerant term (P. 233).

Harnack here admits that the subtle distinctions and pugnacious catchwords that formerly characterized the controversies especially about the *justification* by faith alone, which brought about the great schism, have become repulsive to present day sentiment and reasoning. No Evangelical Christian, he thinks, would today argue against the conten-

6 The quoted speech of Harnack was published in Berlin in 1907 by Stilke. See: Aus Wissenschaft und Leben I (Giessen 1911), 229.

tion that only that faith which is proved by charity can possess intrinsic value. The present dispute over the *Scriptures* and *Tradition* has not only become less acute, but actually insignificant, because since Lessing Protestant scholars recognized that the collection and canonization of the manuscripts of the New Testament were in themselves a part of Tradition. *Saint Peter's presence in Rome* is today considered a well-attested fact (P.245). Harnack here and elsewhere speaks of changes which are supposed to have taken place in the Catholic conception also. But there is nothing of the kind. It can be easily shown that the supposed changes are heirlooms of Catholic doctrine; in some cases Harnack misunderstands the Catholic teaching, in others he mistakes nonessentials for dogmatic tenets.

Harnack errs in ascribing Protestant moderation in regard to Catholic doctrine, to historical research. All those bitter charges are closely associated with the Lutheran conception of justification which like a steel net enmeshed every phase of life. As soon as this conception ceased to sway the minds of men, these charges became indefensible.

It is impossible to show in detail that Harnack's statements are *typical of the modification that took place in religious polemics.* Harnack himself confesses that less than a generation ago Protestant science took no notice of Catholic works. The reason was not, as Harnack thinks, due to a dearth of such works, for none will dare to speak thus of the time which produced men like Möhler, Hefele and Döllinger. Seeing the favorable criticism of Catholic literature by Protestant scientific organs one cannot but be agreeably surprised at the *moderation* that prevails in religious polemics. Nor has the new situation failed to produce gratifying results in other respects. Who would have thought it possible, when, fifty years ago, the Tuebinger school of criticism literally tore the holy scriptures to bits, that even the liberal school of theology would adopt the traditional, i. e., the Catholic theory on the *origin of the New Testament.* Indeed, after those long centuries of bitter struggle between the various denominations, who would have dared to assert a generation ago that a Protestant theologian like Heitmüller would today unreservedly admit that in Paul and the New Testament a substantiation for the Lutheran symbolic conception of the Sacraments cannot be found but that the doctrine of the Catholic Church on the working of the Sacraments *ex opere operato* is clearly and succinctly taught.

This change in the theological situation, no doubt, explains the *candid appreciation of Catholicism* which during the last decades prevailed everywhere. The golden era of the Catholic Church, the Christian Middle Ages, paralyzed by the bolt of Luther's excommunication, lay hidden like a landscape buried beneath the debris of a volcanic eruption.

How things have changed within the last forty years. Today even Protestant theologians warn against calling an epoch dark, when the pure work of thought, unsullied by the interests of practical life, enjoyed its golden age.

The allusion of Leibniz to the golden nuggets of *Scholasticism* remained unheeded for two hundred years. But today the theologian, R. Seeberg, invites the academies to excavate the despised philosophy of the Middle Ages, for, as he says, "it contains more interesting, new, and instructive things than any one laboring under a stupid prejudice would suspect." The same theologian acknowledges that St. Thomas leads in philosophy's march of progress.[7] In ever increasing numbers philosophers and psychologists follow the example set by R. v. Ihring who found in St. Thomas inspiration for his philosophy of law. R. Eucken expresses his praise and appreciation for Thomas for whom not one word of praise was uttered in Lutheran circles during the past 400 years, in fact, could not be heard so long as the system of Luther, the absolute antithesis of Thomistic thought, retained its influence. Moreover, if we consider that *mysticism,* one of the main branches of medieval literature, received benevolent recognition in Protestant circles; that the profundity of Catholic life portrayed in this unique species of literature exercised a powerful influence on the Protestant heart; that characters like Francis of Assisi, one of the pillars of the Catholic *monastic ideal,* is represented in Protestant literature with a halo and a crown of glory; that hagiography has attained a prominent place in the science of history,—it is impossible to deny that, in contrast to the centuries gone by when all bridges to a mutual understanding had been destroyed, a *new era in the relations between Catholics and Protestants in Germany has arisen.*

He who thinks that these facts will not result in a toning down of *denominational oppositions,* judges about the relation of such important religious problems to the practical questions of life, as a blind man judges about colors. This fact alone proves the fundamental fallacy of the French indictment, namely that modern Protestantism would claim today, as it did in the Kulturkampf after 1870, an exclusive title to German culture. Only recently Professor Dunkmann of Greifswald wrote in the "Neuen Kirchl. Zeitschrift": "Let us beware of constituting ourselves sole custodians of German piety and scornfully branding Roman piety as anti-German. This has frequently been done and has called forth bitterness and strife. It would be sheer nonsense to suppose that the Protestant spirit is alone responsible for the victory of the Central Powers. This might have been asserted and believed after the German-French war, but after the present war this will be impossible."[8] The

7 Dogmengeschichte III (Leipzig 1913), VIII 318, 341.
8 Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift 26 (1915), 2.

same sentiments are expressed by extreme modernists among Protestant theologians. Pastor Traub writes: "The influence of the Roman Catholic Church will increase. . . . Our Catholic fellow-citizens have performed their duty towards our country with as much zeal and fidelity as we have. These momentous times will leave an ineffaceable impression upon the German Catholics. There may be new conflicts after the war; but we shall never question the right of the Catholic Church to exist and to be independent."[9]

Dunkmann errs when he expects—as a result of the present war—a final termination of religious controversies in Germany. It would be an injustice to both denominations to insinuate their readiness for a vague interdenominational compromise. For, has all been a mistake, has their struggle of centuries been rather for vagaries than for fundamental religious principles? Let us beware of day dreams. A compromise such as this could materialize only through religious indifferentism—an indifferentism which would be the most deplorable aftermath of the war. In fact, however, *the dogmatic contrarieties* of the two denominations, in spite of the development just described, have rather increased than diminished. The Catholic Church can never yield her fundamentals or admit that she is in possession of only part of the truth, instead of the whole truth. Modern Protestantism, on the other hand, will not revert to Melanchthon's concession and recognize the Papacy at least as a human and historic institution. Thus Harnack has frankly stated. Dogmatic reconciliation is, therefore, a question which Catholics will not discuss; for they hold that the Church is the foundation and great mainstay of the entire Christian truth. The present crisis of Protestantism enjoins Catholics all the more to adhere to this conviction. The Reformation substituted for the authority of the Church that of Luther, who claimed absolute authenticity for his conception of Christianity and defied private judgment in regard to his teachings. Modern, liberal Protestantism, if it cares to recognize any authority whatever, prefers the authority of Jesus to that of Luther. This tendency led to the Myth Theory which is leavening Protestant intellectual life since Hegel's time; it contends that not the person of Jesus, but the Christ Myth, the mental product of millions, is the real corner stone of religion. Modern Socialism, developing this theory, holds with Kalthoff: The Christ myth, being an episode of the human race, must yield to other myths all the more because it synchronizes with the decadence of humanity. This syllogism, whose component terms are plain, is summarized by Kalthoff as follows: "If Christ existed, he did not found the Protestant but the Catholic Church,

[9] Cf. "Köln. Volkztg." 1915, No. 259.

because it is impossible that a Catholic Christ should have been buried and a Protestant Christ should have risen from the dead."[10]

We speak of these things not with a polemical purpose; we merely want to prove our statement, namely, that the *hope for a dogmatic union has never been more remote than at present,* and that the irreconcilability of principles has never been so pronounced as now. The vast majority of Protestants today fix their hopes in evolution of Christianity. Catholicism, however, takes the same stand which Möhler, eighty years ago, proclaimed in classical form and which even our opponents admit to be logical, to say the least. Möhler said: The slightest alteration in the dogma of the Church shakes the very foundation of Christianity; every dogmatical change admits of changing the historic Christ into a mythical Christ; either there is in Christianity a constant continuance of miracles in the Sacraments and the guidance of the Church by the Holy Ghost, or miracles have also been wanting in the source of Christianity, Jesus Christ Himself. Möhler with these intuitive views anticipated the course of theological evolution during the last century. Contrasting this evolution to the Catholic conception of faith, philosophers such as Verweyen—who by reason of his theories of knowledge is *a priori* opposed to the Catholic Church—are deeply impressed with the sublime consistency of the Church from Justin to Pius X.[11]

The prospects of a dogmatic union of the denominations, then, are not at all auspicious. Still, Catholicism and Protestantism in Germany are today, more than ever before, bound *to coöperate in the common defense of the fundamental truths of Christianity.* This paramount issue must relegate all differences, be they ever so essential, to the rear. Since Kant, German Protestantism has been in league with German Idealism. But the evolution the latter went through necessitates the severance of this bond. Paulsen and Kaftan, it is true, praised Kant as the Philosopher of Protestantism. Yet, since Vaihinger demonstrated the As-If-Theory to be the essence of Kant's wisdom, a decided reaction has taken place. Hugo Bund has pointed out the conclusions drawn from this union, namely, that Protestantism is in perfect conformity to the hypotheses that the most sacred sentiments of the human heart, the concepts of God and immortality, of accountability and judgment are but empty fictions without reality—only a perspective valuation as Nietzsche expresses it; that, according to E. v. Hartmann's characterization of Neo-Kantianism, the conduct of man living and dying is founded on a conscious system of lies. Protestantism could not but agree with Bund and reject such conclusions. Moreover, with irrefutable logic Arthur Drew

10 Christusproblem (Leipzig 1903), 25.
11 Philosophie und Theologie im Mittelalter (Bonn 1911), 133.

has proved that post-Kantian philosophical idealism strives to establish the impersonality of God. Protestant theologians who followed Schleiermacher's lead and endeavored for half a century to befriend themselves with Pantheism, have been sorely disappointed ever since Monistic propaganda did not hesitate to draw practical conclusions for public life. The principal exponents of scientific Protestantism, above all *Harnack* and *Troeltsch,* strongly insist on the *personality of God* as the essence of the Bible. Since the Freethinkers direct their attacks primarily against Protestantism and draw their recruits from its ranks, a common field of action for both denominations presents itself where the fiercest intellectual battles are fought—a field in which they can and must coöperate. Though very restricted, this common ground nevertheless embraces all fundamentals and the discordant denominations will do well not to quarrel over the ornamentation of the interior, when incendiarism threatens to destroy the entire edifice.

In the realm of science, mutual opposition in matters of essential differences has become more pronounced. However, we have no desire to follow the example of our ancestors and to adjust our differences through the instrumentality of civil war. Instead, we have drawn closer to each other. Protestantism has become more broadminded; as far as we Catholics are concerned, no one can deny that, barring polemics, we generously acknowledge whatever Protestants have accomplished in the domain of the sciences.

In regard to *politics,* we find that since the Kulturkampf,—whose wounds are healed if not forgotten,—a change in the internal political affairs of the German Empire has taken place which by its very nature necessitates the subordination of denominational interests to permit an understanding on a common Christian basis. The phenomenal rise of Social Democracy has led to difficult problems; thousands left the established Protestant Churches (Landeskirchen) and a religious terrorism set in as never heard of before. Shortly before the outbreak of the war, a cry of distress was heard from the ranks of Protestants that Christian laborers had to sneak into church at night to be married; those that attended church services found on their return that their machines had been spitefully ruined. During the last quarter century, German Protestantism interested itself in a problem, namely the *social question,* which is bound to bring it into closer touch with Catholicism. The Catholic Church had for a long time done pioneer work. The Evangelisch-soziale Kongress, an organization which is a sort of a clearing house for most of the Protestant social endeavors, celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary last year. On this occasion President Baumgarten of Kiel acknowledged that the Catholic Church has created most remarkable and

memorable examples of social organization. We do not wish to imply, however, that clear and definite views on vital principles have been formed in this congress such as would indicate an inner rapprochment to Catholicism. On the contrary, contrarieties among the members of the union itself have frequently appeared on the surface with such an eruptive force that fear made itself felt among the members that this congress of modern Christians, of Intellectuals, of modern Protestant Individualists could not agree on Christian ethics; on the basic tenets of Christianity; on methods of procedure to reduce them into practice, over against existing social and economical conditions. Still, in practical life there is a multitude of important and fundamental problems concerning which the postulations of the Gospel are so simple and unequivocal that they are bound to unite all who have the slightest title to the name of Christian. Who would deny that it is due to the coöperation of the Christian denominations in Germany when the pioneer of English social reform, Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, shortly before the outbreak of the war could express the gratitude of the civilized world to the German people for their pioneer work in regard to insurance and employers' liability laws which raised the condition of the lower classes to a level worthy of man. The idea to ascribe to the State as such obligations towards those of its members who are handicapped in their economical struggle, is essentially Christian,—diametrically opposed to modern political economy which has set profit and gain as lodestars on the altar of the sciences, as well as to modern natural philosophy which condemns a compensating justice as the greatest obstacle to human progress. *Education of youth* is another important national task which makes political coöperation of the Christian denominations imperative. Two events stand out prominently among the internal political movements of recent years: 1) The gigantic progress of the Social-Democratic educational movement; 2) the efforts of radical Freethinkers on the same field of endeavors. We by no means wish to imply that interdenominational juvenile clubs offer the means of adequate defense. Here the same principle applies which holds that the confessional character of the school is the primary condition of efficiency. We call attention to the fact that the Prussian State led all others in safeguarding the Christian school. But the gravity of the situation has paved the way for a friendly coöperation of all patriotic and Christian juvenile organizations.

If the ethical spirit of the Gospel is to remain the foundation and criterion of our culture, then the coöperation of the Christian denominations in politico-social matters has nowhere become so important as in regard to the problems of *sex* and *marriage,* for these are paramount for the existence of the State. All those that gave these questions serious

attention are agreed that never before has our public life been confronted with more serious problems—problems which have become symptomatic of the soundness of the nation and characteristic of our age. The Evangelical Social Congress has not minced words in pointing out that the foundation of our civilization is at stake; that there can be no compromise between matrimony and free love; that every other way is concealed beneath rot and roses; that the slogan of every Christian shall be: Maintenance of monogamy and the impregnation of all strata of society with this fundamental principle; that we must do our utmost to imbue society with this principle, to make it the absolute standard instead of allowing it to be still more minimized. While the State has not as yet found a juridical solution, Catholicism has never deviated from the principle laid down in Scripture and in consequence will always remain the strongest bulwark against destructive tendencies.

The same may be said in regard to the contention, often repeated by the eminent political economist, Adolf Wagner, honorary president of the Evangelical Congresses, namely that the social question must be treated in accordance with the seven petitions of the Our Father, which is the most important connecting link of Christendom. For he who petitions God and does not stir to see the petitions granted, is insincere. However great the dogmatic differences between the various denominations may have become, they must all agree on this supreme idea that only Christian justice and charity can rescue our civilization from out of the terrible crisis into which the social revolution has drawn it. For many years after the war it will be our most important task, requiring all our energy, to complete our *social legislation;* it will be the duty of all Christian denominations to unite their efforts in this labor. Our commonwealth can be saved from destruction only in as far as our people learn that God's will, and not blind fate, governs economic progress. In this regard we gladly acknowledge the merits of Protestant theologians such as Troeltsch, who successfully oppose the pernicious Marxian philosophy of life which sees in religion nothing but a reflection of social misery and affliction, and induced Nietzsche to utter his odius calumny that Christianity is nothing but a moral slave emancipation. Moreover, Protestant theologians show a marked disinclination to follow the lead of Schleiermacher, whose towering influence endured all too long, when in recent years they begin to emphasize the tenet that religion frees the innermost personality from the bonds of material life and leads it to a supermundane being; that it is not the fruit of social growth and change, but that it raises the soul above time and society to the supernatural God. Whoever has followed up the evolution from Schleiermacher to Pfleiderer, tending to reduce Christianity to a materialistic religion, will

welcome the disavowal of that school, which the president of the last Evangelical Social Congress, Professor Baumgarten of Kiel, expressed when he proclaimed the principle that nothing is so influential toward the furtherance of culture in social and industrial life as belief in life in an eternal world beyond.[12]

From all this it follows that Goyau's conclusions in regard to the relations between the creeds in Germany, based on the situation during the Kulturkampf period, are in accord neither with the present situation nor with future developments. A common enemy came forth from the readjustment of internal political conditions—an enemy so dangerous as to render confessional peace on the basis of political equality absolutely imperative in the interest of the preservation of the Christian and ethical foundation of the state. Actually, since the beginning of the war, a spirit of conciliation unites all creeds in national questions, and this national unity heralds an abiding peace after our victory over our enemies from without. Indeed, the words of Görres apply with greater force today than when they were uttered eighty years ago: "The enemy is among our own selves. The anarchistic revolution but awaits the opportune moment to kindle again the smouldering fire of the old discord which brought about the ruin of the ancient German Empire, heartlessly to avenge itself on both parties."

Let us here cite but a few of the *Protestant voices* advocating *peace.* In the opinion of Dunkmann, the Christian creeds in Germany would rebel against God's rule of the Universe were they after this war to revert to former habits of despising and belittling one another. Rudolf Wielandt expresses similar thoughts when he exclaims: "We had reason to become pessimists, were it possible to forget that our Evangelical and Catholic compatriots, each and all, made the greatest sacrifices; that they in unison, with confident and, doubtless, often identical thoughts and prayers, turned to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. We cannot but expect a decided amelioration of the relations between the creeds."[13] It is a sign of the times when in the midst of the war, Protestant periodicals of such importance as the "Christliche Welt" openly acknowledge the justice of Catholic grievances in regard to the *Roman question.* When the Holy See did not submit to the Law of Guarantees, "it had its reasons whose justice we have so far failed to recognize, but which we can no longer ignore." "The Law of Guarantees in the face of the World War has become untenable. If the Pope fears for his safety in Rome he has every reason for such apprehension. . . . Moreover, we understand and appreciate the wish that the Pope be represented at the coming

12 Verhandlungen 1914, p. 25.
13 Die Christliche Welt 1915, No. 25, June 24, col. 502.

peace congress and that the Roman question be there definitely settled. . . . It may be that the Holy See will take part in the coming peace negotiations as spokesman of the neutral nations, if not, indeed, in a more important capacity. . . . We cannot but hope that peace will establish a state of affairs both lasting and satisfactory, in these mooted questions as well as in other matters."[14]

In the same periodical Walther Köhler pays a splendid tribute to the noble and profoundly religious endeavors of Pius X. Of our present Pope he writes: "Benedict XV has performed his task from the very first day of his regime, with tact and dignity. Not to speak of his prayers and appeals for peace, it was he who proposed the exchange of permanently disabled soldiers, and thanks to his suggestion the Swiss government gladly undertook to offer in the neutral mountains of Switzerland homes for other wounded and recovering soldiers. All his actions have been inspired by supernational Christian charity, and all nations gratefully accepted his mediation, for his neutrality and impartiality knew of no preference. If it is true that Catholicism in Italy was our best ally, this was not due to a papal policy favoring the Triple Alliance, but to the Pope's love of peace which is opposed to war under any condition, irrespective of the contending parties."[15] In another place, the same Protestant theologian praises the supernatural, supernational Catholic ideas which are naturally exemplified in the neutrality of the Pope. And thus it happened, he says, "that the Pope's voice sounded like the voice of God over the waters; that also those listened gratefully who are not members of the Catholic Church; who are entangled in the strong meshes of patriotic and civil duties; who by conscientious examination had to accord Christianity to politics. Even Protestantism has this time experienced the influence of the exalted mission of the Vicar of Christ."[16]

These are indeed golden words such as had not been heard from Protestants since the time of the Reformation,—words which in these passionate days bespeak perception of at least one feature of the importance of the papacy and are suggestive of the yearning for the living centre of Christianity.

Finally, we take notice of one more objection of the French war book. German Catholicism, we are told, is *contaminated by Protestantism* and rendered ineffective for the pursuance of its highest religious ideals. Germany is set down as the classical land of *Modernism*. This assertion is refuted by the fact that the authentic ecclesiastical briefs condemning Modernism are, above all, based on theses taken from the writings of

[14] Ibid. No. 30, July 29, col. 602, etc.
[15] Die Christliche Welt 1914, No. 41, Oct. 8, col. 913; 1915, No. 30, July 29, col. 601.
[16] Ibid. 1915, No. 29, July 22, col. 582.

Loisy and other French scholars. Kantian and Hegelian philosophy constitute the philosophical substratum of Modernism; but in Germany Catholic science as a whole has long since ceased to infuse the systems of Kant and Hegel into theology. Furthermore, the attempts of Olle-Laprune, Brunetière, Blondel, Laberthonnière, le Roy and others, to introduce, in a moderate form, into theology the modernistic ideas of Immanence and Pragmatism, have not to any noteworthy degree been emulated by German Catholics. Attempts of this kind were a closed incident for us ever since Eduard von Hartmann, pointing out Lipsius and Biedermann as examples, has irrefutably shown that socalled German Idealism is intrinsically irreconcilable with Christianity. When, therefore, the Encyclical against Modernism was promulgated, I called attention to the fact that, as far as its philosophical aspects are concerned, the condemnation of Modernism by the Holy Father had been preceded by its repudiation in Berlin. That which Pius X with wonderful intuition characterized as the death-blow to Christianity, namely the fusion of the latter with modern philosophy was also recognized as such by Hartmann; of late Protestantism begins to hold the same opinion. It is, doubtless, significant that Professor Dunkmann admonishes Protestant students to seek religious enlightenment in the Catholic system of faith and prayer rather than in modern philosophy.[17]

Far be it that we reckon with our French coreligionists in these trying times. But French Catholicism, which has been robbed of its Christian schools; whose priests in virtue of the law of 1889 are forced into actual service in the army; which—as Delbrel complains in the "Études" —has in consequence of this law lost all that which generations had achieved in the religious sphere; which had to undergo the humiliation of seeing faith in God stigmatized as foolish in the official organ of the state (Dec. 6, 1907)—this French Catholicism ought to be mindful of the fact that we, though in the minority, have gained glorious victories. Such have been our victories that M. Goyau felt impelled to say, in the preface to his work "Bismarck et l'Église": *French Catholicism can hope for a better future only if it emulates the example of the real millions of real Catholics in Germany who through assiduous labor have been leavened by faith and love of their Church.* The official head of Protestantism in Bavaria, v. Bezzel, has recently conceded that if the present war strengthens Catholicism in the East and West of the German Empire, the influence of the Catholic Church will increase enormously.[18] It is precisely this fact which causes Professor Baumgarten and others to look with disfavor upon the incorporation of Belgium into the German Empire.

17 Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift 26 (1915), 2.
18 Allgemeine Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchenzeitung No. 9, Feb. 26, 1915.

There is one thing which since the Kulturkampf has secured for us a *preponderant organized superiority in religious strife.* Catholicism is internally firmer united than ever. As far as basic principles of Church and religion are concerned, our philosophy of life admits no disagreements. German Protestantism, on the other hand, does not any longer possess that unity, at least in its adherence to the basic dogmatic ideas of the Reformation, which it did possess during the Kulturkampf. If at any future time a community of interests should replace the lost unity of faith, the former will never equal the vitality and initiative of Catholic unity of faith. This uniformity of the supreme religious ideal for which we live and die, is for us Catholics an inexhaustible source of strength.

We German Catholics have honestly coöperated in the upbuilding of all that which is great and noble in our fatherland. With that loyalty of which the German heart is capable, we cling to the sacred heirlooms of our nation, among which we prize none higher than the Christian foundation of our commonwealth.

We feel ourselves sufficiently strong henceforth to maintain our position in our national life. We are proud and happy to be Germans. And as Catholics we are in closest communion with the God-given centre of religious unity—ever mindful of that deeply rooted solidarity which unites the upright of all nations for the preservation of the vital interests of Christian culture which today is in greater danger than ever before. This, indeed, is also the most potent reason why we pray for the success of the German arms; for we see international Freemasonry, the worst enemy of Christianity, arrayed on the side of our adversaries; a victory for our enemies would condemn the Catholic Church, here and in other lands, to the sad fate suffered by the Church in France. We know ourselves to be free of any desire of world-conquest. Indeed, even Fichte in a moment of enthusiastic national pride emphasized the fact that Germany does not aspire to exclusive prerogatives; that it recognizes the component rays in the many-hued complex of national peculiarities, through which on earth the divine light of heaven is most marvelously evidenced.

14. Empire, Emperor and Religious Equality.

By Dr. Karl *Hoeber*, Seminary Director Emeritus, Cologne.

THE FRENCH libel would make the whole world believe that Germany, theoretically and practically, is the antagonist of Catholicity (XI), the religious utterances of the Kaiser notwithstanding. The charge may be formulated thus: The Kaiser hates Catholicism. His life's object is to exterminate Catholicism both in and out of Germany (82, 272, 274). This is natural; for he feels in sympathy with Luther and likes to pose as the Pope of the Reformation (35) and the *summus episcopus* of the whole of Protestantism (36, 37, 38). The idea of solidarity between Protestantism and the true "German spirit" has a firm hold upon William II's mind (35). In keeping with this is the "Evangelical" German Empire (31). The men of the *Away-from-Rome (Los von Rom)* movement who have the Kaiser behind them (38) dream of a pan-Germanic empire. To them, Catholicism is, of course, a sort of political heresy. Its extirpation must be made a duty (39).

Every item in this wholesale charge is distorted and disfigured, even to caricature. The following remarks are addressed to those who are willing to see things as they actually are.[1]

The only commonwealth with which the middle ages of western Europe were familiar was that founded on the unity of faith. The Catholic religion was the firmest and strongest foundation of the medieval polity. Whoever hatched or propagated false doctrines in matters of faith imperiled the unity and coherence of the body politic. A plurality of religions would, of necessity, have led to a disruption of the political unit. Hence the severe penalties inflicted upon teachers of heresy and the unrelenting persecution of heretics as political offenders.

In the age of the Reformation, religious belief in Germany split. The statesmen of either confession for a long time clung to the traditional view. They could not think of the individual principalities, into which the old Holy Roman Empire was broken up, otherwise than as either Protestant or Catholic. But as early as 1555, the whole empire as such was already conceived in the terms of the Augsburg *Religionsfriede*

1 Cf. above chapter 3.

(Truce of Religion) as undenominational. Up to the Peace of Westphalia, religious *equality* had been merely a fact. Now it was raised to the dignity of a political maxim. The empire continued to be administered in the spirit of equality until its dismemberment through Napoleon I. In all matters touching the interest of the empire, the two great confessions were expected through their mutual influence to maintain a state of equilibrium. Moreover, specific measures were taken to insure the influence of either confession. Again, beginning with the 17th century, *tolerance,* so little known in the 16th, made slow but sure progress. Its furtherance was due not least to the fact that the larger territories, at any rate, in consequence of their steady growth, were unable to maintain their confessional unity and were compelled to put up with subjects of the other persuasion. In this, owing to its acquisition of the largely Catholic duchy of Cleve-Mark, Brandenburg took the lead. The principle of religious toleration did not completely triumph, however, until the day when "the ideas of the year 1789" ripened to full maturity. That whole complex of ideas had found its historically best-known and most axiomatic expression on French soil, but was intellectually deepened through the efforts of German and Anglo-Saxon alike. The fundamental law of the German Empire which had long since been framed upon the principle of equality, accepted the principle of tolerance unhesitatingly. After Napoleon's overthrow, the first attempt to re-unite—though loosely enough—the German nation resulted in the German Confederation. The explicit acceptance, on the part of the individual states, of equality and tolerance in their widest extent was incorporated into the Acts of the Confederation in 1815; although in other respects, the obligations imposed upon the different confederate states in the interest of unity were far from being adequate.

Up to that time, the development of the mutual relations between the state and the churches and religious persuasions, on the one hand, and between the state and the political rights of the subjects regardless of creed, on the other, had progressed on the whole from the head downward; that is, improvements were introduced by the governments on their own initiative and in their own behalf. This was in keeping with the spirit of the times in Germany. After 1815 a change took place. The impulse towards political progress shifted from the governments to the subjects who now became *citizens.* The first great push forward in this new stage of the development was due to the revolutionary movement of 1848. Many a great and excited debate was heard in the National Convention in Frankfurt. The freedom of the Church and the equality of Catholics with Protestants were the points at issue. Prior to 1870, nothing helped so much to strengthen the Catholic movement in Germany as these oratori-

cal combats. However, even before any settlement was reached, the Prussian State created a situation which, for decades to come, was to guarantee the triumph of the demands urged by the Catholics. It introduced a new constitution in December, 1848, and, in close imitation of the Belgian constitution and in accord with the motions made by the Catholics at Frankfurt, granted a large-hearted measure of independence to the churches and of political equality to all citizens irrespective of creed. The Catholic demands made at Frankfurt were in consequence crowned with like success. Sections 145 and 146 of the constitution of the empire of March, 1849, provided that "No German citizen is restricted either in the private or the public exercise of his religion" and (Section 146) "The enjoyment of the civil and political rights is neither conditioned upon, nor restricted by, the religious confession." Again, the constitution of the Prussian State, under date of January 31, 1850, under Title II, Article XII, provides that "The freedom of religious belief, the formation of religious associations, and the common exercise of religion both in public and in private are guaranteed. The enjoyment of all political rights is independent of the religious confession."

The ideas which dominated public life in Germany during the revolution of 1848 suffered a reverse, as is known, in the fifties. Against the spirit of the constitution of 1848, the old tradition of the individual states struggled again for recognition. The tendency was particularly noticeable in the larger territories. In Prussia the tide rose highest. In connection with this, the champions of the tradition, the Conservatives, desired to recover for the Prussian state its historical character as a Protestant polity. There was no objection to tolerance, but they had set their faces against equality. They would not hear of that. The Catholics thus put on the defensive proceeded to form in the Prussian Chamber of Deputies the *"Catholic Fraktion"* (1852). Fortunately, the efforts of the Conservatives proved abortive even before the end of the fifties. The Constitution was not changed to the detriment of the Catholics. The influence of the Conservative Party itself waned as rapidly as it had waxed. It had not as yet struck its roots deep enough in the soil of the constitutional life of the country. More serious dangers to equality and, as was soon to appear, to tolerance arose in the following years. The exclusion from Germany of the Catholic dynasty of Austria and the establishment in Germany of the hegemony of the King of Prussia sapped the undenominational basis of the whole of German political life more thoroughly than Napoleon had been able to do. The Liberals took a leading part in the formation of the new empire. A considerable group of them strangely mingled the revolutionary ideas, which had grown out of the Enlightenment and given birth to the Liberal party, with a confes-

sional *furor* of a typically German stamp. They supposed the Ghibelline spirit to be essential to the second German Empire now on the eve of creation, and made no secret of their desire that it receive a religious sanction. The new Empire was to be "Evangelical."

To neutralize the activities of the Conservatives and Liberals, the political leaders of the German Catholics expressed themselves publicly on the problem—so eminently important at the time of re-creating the Empire—of rearing a political structure on the basis of absolute equality. Their utterances are a model for all future generations. Freiherr von Ketteler, Bishop of Mayence, formulated the position of the Catholics in the new German Empire in February, 1871. He demanded, on the one hand, that "The Catholics unreservedly recognize the German imperial power within the limits of its present jurisdiction"; and laid down, on the other hand, the following basic principles for the German Empire and the Federal States: "The Christian religion, both in the Empire and in the several States, is to be made the foundation, without prejudice to religious freedom, in all matters bearing upon the exercise of religion. The recognized Christian denominations manage and administer each its own affairs and retain the possession and usufruct of institutions and funds provided for their religious, educational, and charitable purposes." The Catholics justified their demands by an appeal to the hereditary fundamental laws of the German states and to modern constitutionalism, to the Peace of Westphalia no less than to the Prussian constitution. Not all at once were they able to gain a hearing. So violent was the opposition of the far more numerous Liberal party that a fierce internal struggle ensued. It was the famous *Kulturkampf*. All the gains that had been made by Catholics in the relations between Church and State, tolerance as well as equality, were now at stake. The confusion into which the conflict threw the minds and consciences of men was likely to be all the greater as the leading statesman of those days, Otto von Bismarck, availed himself of the struggle to bring about, in accordance with the aims of his former political associates, the repeal of those Articles of the *Prussian* constitution which had positively abolished the Protestant character of the State, while within the *Empire* he would not permit the relations of the Constitution to the Church and the denominations to be clearly and distinctly regulated. Under the influence of his whole political outlook and the views he held of the real wants of the nation, he denied the competence of the Empire to settle matters relating to tolerance and equality. This competence, he claimed, should be reserved intact to the several States. He would leave the decision to the future. Meanwhile, the future did decide in the same proportion as the new Empire took

shape and gave birth to a political life of its own and independent of the life of the individual States.

The Catholic portion of the German people has taken a considerable part—the effects of which are still felt—in the erection and internal development of the Empire. They have shown at the same time that they may be relied upon as a strong support of the safety and order of the State. In the predominantly Catholic sections of the country, the ideas of Radicals and Revolutionaries have made no notable entry into the masses of the people. Even the leaders of the opposing parties have repeatedly paid a generous tribute to the successful constructive coöperation of the Catholics in the performance of the vital tasks of the Empire. The principal arena for this coöperation has been the *Reichstag*. The view which considers *German* and *Evangelical* as intimately associated terms may still have its advocates among Protestant theologians and historians for the reason that Germany is the cradle of the Reformation. But this view had no lasting effect upon the development of the interrelations between State and Church as manifested in the political life of the nation as a whole. The German Empire as such has long since outgrown, both in its constitution and its political development, these relics of narrow ideas. The new Empire is today a state that, no less than the old, rests on *equality* which in turn has *tolerance* for its basis.

* * *

The question as to the real attitude of the *German Emperor,* as chief executive, towards the problem of settling the mutual relations of the different religious communities in the undenominational state concerns not so much the founder of the Empire, Kaiser William I, as it does his second successor. The former had grown up in the particularistic views and ideas of the Prussian statesmen. The reign of Emperor Frederick was too brief to leave a lasting impression. It is really William II whose reign has brought the Empire to its full maturity. As head of the state, he has, since his accession to the throne, seized the most different occasions clearly and distinctly to characterize the problems awaiting solution, whether they be of a purely religious nature, or touch the relation of Church and State. Nor has he failed openly and frankly to enunciate the guiding principles of his government.

The *constitutional* attitude of the monarch towards the religious and ecclesiastical life of his subjects as well as towards the mutual relations of the various confessions is, in an undenominational polity, necessarily colored by his *personal* attitude towards Church and religion. The present German Kaiser is a believing Protestant. He is deeply penetrated by the belief in a personal God and openly rejoices in the confession of

Christ. No wonder he looks upon his vocation as a ruler as upon a good or office entrusted to him by Almighty God Who shall hereafter demand an account of his just administration.[2] To thoughts such as these, which recur again and again in his speeches, he gave expression at Berlin on February 20, 1891, in a manner that reflects the whole seriousness of his religious convictions. "You know that I look upon my position and task as one ordained for me by Heaven and that I have been called by a Higher One to Whom I shall have to give an account some day. I can assure you, therefore, that not an evening and not a morning passes without a prayer for my people."

Out of this faith, the Kaiser draws the consciousness of his duty and, along with the conviction of the mission he has to fulfil on earth, comes his humble trust in God. In the discharge of his duties, the Word of God is his unerring lodestar.

> "In all my thoughts and my actions, I put to myself the question, What does the Bible say to it? It is a font unto me; from it I draw strength and light. In the hours of fear and of trembling, I turn to this treasure of comfort."[3]

To the Kaiser, the Christian religion is the foundation and main support of the State and of all institutions called into life for the protection and the defense of the State, and particularly of the army. From his numerous addresses to the troops of the army and the navy, let one utterance of the Kaiser be here quoted:

> "Just as the crown is nothing without altar and crucifix, so the troops are nothing without the Christian religion" (Nov. 12, 1896).[4]

This open religious confession of the Kaiser has at all times found a joyous and enthusiastic echo in the Christian German people. Moreover, the spiritual heads of the Catholic part of the population have repeatedly expressed to the Emperor their warmest thanks for his utterances. Thus, Archbishop Dr. Fischer of Cologne, on occasion of his taking the oath at Berlin March 11, 1903, in his address to the Kaiser thanked him that

> "he in the face of the whole world makes no secret of his Christian convictions, but on all possible occasions has made known his humble belief in the majesty of Jesus Christ as the Incarnate Son of God and Redeemer of mankind."[5]

Again, Bishop Dr. Korum of Treves, apropos of the VI. International Marianic Congress at Treves in August, 1912, in a telegraphic message

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2 Cf. his addresses of March 5, 1890, Feb. 20, 1891, Aug. 31, 1897, May 6, and Aug. 6, 1900, in Reden Kaiser Wilhelms II. J. Penzler and B. Krieger (Leipzig, Reclam).
3 Köln. Volkszeitung, No. 483, June 11, 1910.
4 Reden II, 35.
5 Ib. III, 150.

of loyalty, testified that the Catholics of Germany, in union with the numerous representatives of foreign nations, express

> "their unreserved admiration of his ever courageous confession of the Cross of Christ, the Redeemer of the world."

In his capacity as King of Prussia, whose original provinces as early as the time of the Reformation went over to the Protestant faith, the Kaiser, it is true, looks upon himself in a special manner as the protector of the Evangelical Church and the guardian of the religious inheritance of the Reformation. As such, he holds firmly to the conviction that the House of the Hohenzollern and the kingdom of Prussia are closely allied with Protestantism. This brings out the deepest meaning of the confession which William II, on the occasion of the dedication of the Protestant Church of the Redeemer *(Erlöserkirche)* at Jerusalem in the year 1898, has deposited in the charter of the church:

> "The grace of God has granted to me, the German Kaiser and King of Prussia, William II, to finish the work begun by my predecessors and on this day of the anniversary of the blessed Reformation . . . to perform the dedication of the church. The church is to bear the name of 'The Church of the Redeemer,' in order that it be known that I and all those who like me recognize in the work of the Reformation a work of divine grace and cling to it with grateful hearts, look up to Jesus Christ as to our only Redeemer."

No German Catholic has seen in this utterance a belittling or polemic reference to the Catholic faith. And that is why Bishop von Keppler of Rottenburg could rightly speak of "the Kaiser's glorious and solemn confession of faith" at the dedication of the Church of the Redeemer.[6] Nor has this confession prevented the Kaiser on numerous occasions from lending a distinct voice to his tolerant, respectful and sincerely peaceful sentiments towards his Catholic subjects.

A special occasion for emphasizing his solicitude for his Catholic subjects was furnished to the Kaiser by the just-mentioned trip to the Orient in the year 1898—the very occasion which has been made capital of to prove his hostility towards the Catholics (37).[7] When William II transferred to the German Society of the Holy Land, with the right of usufruct, the property of the so-called *Dormitio,* he sent the following communication to the president of the society:

> "I am glad to be able to fulfil in this way an urgent wish of my Catholic subjects. Let them see in this an evidence of the paternal

6 Wanderfahrten und Wallfahrten im Orient7 (1912) 309.
7 Cf. above, p. 59.

care with which I, though of a different faith, am always anxious to watch over their religious interests."[8]

He sent the following telegram to the Pope:

"It has done good to my heart on this occasion to testify how dear to me are the religious interests of the Catholics whom divine Providence has entrusted to me."

In the words of the Kaiser with which he accompanied the solemn acceptance of the estate in the presence of the Latin Patriarch Piavi of Jerusalem October 31, 1898, this gift was intended as an expression of his "cordial friendship" for, and at the same time "deep interest" in, his German Catholic subjects.[9]

These words were by no means merely the expression of a momentary and passing religious sentiment and emotion, called forth perhaps by his visit to the sacred places. No. The Kaiser at all times thinks and feels thus towards us Catholics and what is sacred to us. We will only instance his repeated visits to the Benedictine monasteries of Maria Laach, Beuron, and Monte Cassino. These places and monks are not merely dear to the Kaiser for general cultural or historical reasons. They are dear to him because they are representatives of that Catholic monastic ideal which has never failed by its religious character and labor to exert its power of attraction over the deeply religious nature of the Emperor. Would there had been at the head of the French Republic, which has outlawed and banished the religious congregations, a man similar to this so-called "friend of Luther" who has accepted from the abbot of Monte Cassino the medal of St. Benedict and from the Patriarch of Jerusalem the Grand Cross of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre!

Perhaps this kindly feeling of the Kaiser towards our monasteries will be put down as of no consequence for his ecclesiastical policy. It will not do, however, merely to say that we are here face to face with expressions of a purely romantic disposition which cannot of course affect his general policy. Against such explanations, we are able to set addresses of a deep, political significance in which we cannot but recognize solemn public declarations of the principles governing the Kaiser's ecclesiastical policy.

At a great reception on June 19, 1902, in the Aix-la-Chapelle *Rathaussaal,* famous alike in art and history, the Kaiser, in a lengthy speech, made ample mention of the new tasks of the new Empire and gave a sort of programme of his system of government. He pointed out with special satisfaction that his principles in general and his efforts to

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[8] Kaiserreden. Herausg. von A. O. Klaussmann (Leipzig, Weber, 1902) 72.
[9] Ib., 73.

cultivate among the German people a respect for religion in particular, had elicited the joyful approval of Pope Leo XIII. The Kaiser's address delivered in so memorable a spot won the hearty approbation of Catholics and Protestants alike. Here we find laid bare the Kaiser's inmost thoughts on the mutual relations of the different confessions of the realm and on the attitude of the Chief Executive towards them. His words may, therefore, be taken for an abiding norm in all the controversies and discussions of the political parties. The section of the Aix-la-Chapelle speech of interest to us runs as follows:

"The greater is today my joy in breaking a news, which I am proud of being able to communicate, to the ecclesiastical dignitaries here represented. There stands General von Loë—a faithful servant of his kings. He was sent by me to Rome to attend the jubilee of the Holy Father. When he conveyed to him my felicitations and my jubilee gift, and in intimate conversation gave him information concerning the conditions in Germany, the Holy Father said to him that he was glad to be able to tell him that he had always been deeply impressed with the piety of the Germans, and particularly with that of the German soldier; he could tell him yet more, he said, and wanted him to take this message back with him to the Kaiser: 'the country in Europe where still reigns decency, order and discipline, respect for authority, esteem for the Church, and where every Catholic can live, free and undisturbed, in the exercise of his religion—that country is Germany, and that boon Germany owes to its Kaiser.'

"This, gentlemen, warrants me to say that side by side our two great denominations must keep before their eyes this one great aim: of preserving and strengthening the fear of God and the esteem of religion. It matters not whether we are modern and whether we labor in this field or in that. But the man that does not rest his life upon the basis of religion, is lost.

"And, therefore, since on this day and in this place it behooves not only to speak but also to vow, I too will herewith make my vow: I place the whole realm, the whole people and my army, symbolically represented by his truncheon, myself and my house, under the Cross and under the protection of Him, of Whom the great Apostle Peter has said: 'Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is no other name under heaven given to men whereby we must be saved' and Who has said of Himself: 'Heaven and earth shall pass away, by my words shall not pass away.'"[10]

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10 Reden III, 99 ff.

On a later occasion, when the delegates of the Rhine Province offered their homage to the Kaiser in the castle of Koblenz September 12, 1905, the Emperor, wishing to illustrate the peaceful living side by side of the various Christian confessions, borrowed a plastic figure from the towering ancestral castle of the Hohenzollern where, he said, there are two chapels,

> "the one for the Protestants and the other for the Catholics, to the end that both may in concord pay their homage to God one by the side of the other."

Referring to the predominantly Catholic Province of Rhenish Prussia, in behalf of whose Catholic population the archbishop of Cologne had shortly before renewed the vow of allegiance, the Kaiser wished from his heart

> "that they might in joy and harmony live together in this (German) house; especially in the esteem of personality and in the appreciation of it in every man; that they might look up to the firmament there above which arches over our house and to the common Redeemer and Saviour of Whom we hope and expect that He shall save us from our sins."[11]

In this whole utterance, the exhortation to religious toleration is placed in the foreground. To express fully his views of religious equality in the manifold departments of social life and coöperation, the Kaiser in a lengthy address, delivered on August 31, 1907, in the *Landesmuseum* at Munster to the delegates of Westphalia which, for the number of Catholics, ranks second among the Prussian provinces, said:

> "The Province of Westphalia is a beautiful illustration that it is possible, in a spirit of conciliation, to unite, in the love and fidelity to country, historical, confessional, and economic contradictions. The Province is composed of different districts. Some of them have for a long time belonged to the crown of Prussia, while others were added to it only later. But they all vie with one another in staunch adherence to our house. Just as I make no distinction between the old districts and the new, so I make no distinction between Catholic and Protestant subjects. And, indeed, both stand on the ground of Christianity. Both are anxious to be faithful citizens and obedient subjects. All the subjects of my country are equally dear to my heart. . . .
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> "The beautiful picture of union and conciliatoriness which the Province of Westphalia shows to the observer, I should like to see transferred to the length and breadth of the Fatherland. I believe

11 Reden III, 270.

there is only one means of effecting such a union of all our citizens and all the classes of the people: Religion, I do not mean religion in the narrower dogmatical and ecclesiastical sense, but religion in a wider and more practical sense. . . .

"(This complete unification) can be accomplished through one centre only: the Person of our Saviour, that Man Who has styled us His brethren, Who has lived to set us an example, the most personal of all personalities. To this day He walks among the nations and His presence is felt in the heart of every one of us. Looking up to Him our people must unite. They must firmly trust in His words of which He Himself has said: Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away. If we do this, we shall succeed."[12]

These are some of the religious declarations of our Emperor who, it is alleged, hates Catholicism and plans its destruction.

* * *

An *undenominational state* is not in itself a perfect thing. Its defects would soon appear if its constitution and organization were judged by *absolute* standards. It presupposes, both in those responsible for its government and in the followers of the various religious confessions, an ideal measure of justice and mutual toleration which are not always possible. But this much must be said without further qualification that the undenominational constitution of the present German Empire and its federal States fulfils in an eminent degree the conditions which make it possible for the citizens to perform those tasks and reach those aims which the moral law has fixed for humanity. Wherever the Christian religion maintains *de facto,* if not under the constitution, that position in the commonwealth which is guaranteed to the Church in Germany; and where an Emperor such as ours and like him the rulers of the several states by confession and example foster and promote the esteem for religion,—there those civic virtues are honored and practiced which are most important for the family, for society, for the state: the fear of God, respect for authority, morality, the social sense, devotion to duty. For, the individual takes the norms of his actions not from the accidental and everchanging views and doctrines of the *Zeitgeist,* but knows them to be infallibly vouched for by the revealed divine Wisdom and by the example of Jesus Christ Who embodied these virtues in His person in a manner typical for all times. The virtues which are rooted in religious

12 Reden IV, 86 ff.

feelings and convictions make it a plain duty for the individual to make the common weal the guiding principal of his thoughts and actions and willingly to subordinate his personal interests and advantages to those of the community. Thus there has developed in our parliaments a sense of duty and solidarity, in virtue of which every class of the population considers positive advancement, the common warding off of danger, the mitigation of distress and economic sufferings as so many postulates of political ethics which at all times finds its strongest motives in religion.

15. German World Dominion?

By Dr. Hermann v. *Grauert*, University Professor and Court Councillor, Munich.

OUT of the flood of reproaches which, since the beginning of the World War, has burst over the German Empire, no one comes more frequently to the surface than the imputation that the German Emperor and the German Empire are contending for a world-dominion; for the leading position at the head of the political order of the globe; at least for the political hegemony of Europe.

The new Polybius who, since August 1914, day after day in the Paris "Figaro" gives his opinion on the great events of the times with more or less witty considerations, with more or less malicious and untrue disseminations and unjust accusations, with more or less forced commentaries, does not entertain the smallest doubt in this regard. I am speaking of Joseph Reinach, the exuberant publicist, military author, politician, historian and academician who, born in Paris in 1856, stood up for Leon Gambetta and for Alfred Dreyfus, and who on February 15, 1908, was appointed president of the parliamentary commission which was charged with the editing of the documents regarding the diplomatic origin of the war of 1870-1871 ("Les Origines diplomatiques de la Guerre de 1870-1871"). He found his war articles important enough to have them published in book form soon after their first appearance. (In April 1915 two volumes had appeared.)

It was on January 1, 1915, that the memory of Emperor Napoleon I, his return from Elba and the hundred days arose in the vision of this modern Polybius who, since August 16, 1914, has been re-instated in his military rank as captain of the General Staff and as such is attached to the military government of Paris. He visualizes Waterloo, the greatest battle of the imperial epopee, and its tragic consequence, the downfall of Napoleon. The hegemony which that genius strove for had appeared unbearable to the world. The hegemony which now, at the beginning of 1915, must be crushed, is the most brutal barbarity which ever tried to force itself upon the world. Since the battles on the Marne and on the Vistula, they speak in a different tune in Berlin. But too late are they trying to clothe with a velvet glove the terrible hand which had menaced

the whole world. In the spring of 1915, Joseph Reinach concluded the foreword to the second volume of his "Commentaires de Polybe" with a confession of his faith in the right, justice and strength of ideals. In undertaking the foundation of a universal dominion, William II. will meet with failure, just as Charles V and Napoleon I did fail; for him who knows to interpret the teachings of history, this is a foregone conclusion.

The Germans, therefore, must be prepared for the inevitable ruin of their gigantic plans of world-dominion.

The "Comité Catholique de Propagande française," founded in the spring of 1915, advances the same positive views in this regard. In No. 2 of the "Bulletin de Propagande française à l'Etranger" (August 1, 1915) published by that committee, the editor and secretary general, M. Eugène Griselle, Docteur ès lettres, Chanoine honoraire de Beauvais, says the following: "In fact, the same pan-Germanists who in 1905 announced that Germany has the right and duty to impose its hegemony upon the whole world and must begin to annex Europe in its entirety, welcomed with frenetic applause the last opening address in the Prussian Diet which contains the impudent assertion that 'our envious enemies have forced us to wage this war,—a war destined not to serve the expansion of our power or the acquisition of miserable gains, but the safeguarding of our existence, our families, our homes, our women and children.'"

The pan-Germanists, then, are very inconsistent according to Monsieur Dr. Griselle. In 1905, they demanded for Germany the hegemony of the whole world or, at least, the annexation of Europe. Ten years later, they attempt to fool mankind with the lie that they conduct the World War as a war of defense. Note this well: *les mêmes pangermanistes*. Right here occasion offers itself for a short, but very instructive historic-critical discussion. Where did M. Griselle get his exact knowledge regarding the demands of the pan-Germanists of 1905? He does not say but, fortunately, leads us to his source of information in the preceding paragraph where he quotes from "Paul Verrier, La Folie allemande, 10." This booklet is a very mediocre production of a French philologist, Chargé de Cours à la Sorbonne, who, like many others of his colleagues, has found it profitable to add to the copious war literature. These scribes do not aspire to literary laurels. They simply want to incite the passions of the French and their allies and, if possible, also of the neutrals. Paul Verrier, in "Folie allemande," pretends to submit "German documents." In his booklet of 32 pages, he has treatises on "les appétits allemands," "la guerre allemande" and "les Intellectuels allemands"—all to be had for 30 centimes. The "Pages d'histoire 1914-1915" of the "Librairie Militaire Berger-Levrault" of Paris and Nancy

have devoted their sixth series to pan-Germanism and appropriated to themselves Verrier's monumental work (No. 28 of the series). The appetite of the Germans is great. Already on December 19, 1914, Paul Verrier described it with pathetic words in an article of the "Excelsior;" he now embodies this article in the little brochure "La Folie allemande." Proofs of the earlier stages of German megalomania he finds in the beautiful song *"Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?"* by Ernst Moritz Arndt, and in *"Deutschland, Deutschland über alles,"* by Hoffmann von Fallersleben, also in the handbooks of Geography by Daniel and E. von Seydlitz. Expressive of more serious symptoms of the German appetite, is in M. Verrier's opinion the pan-German periodical "Heimdall" with its Walhalla picture and runic inscription: "From Skagen to the Adriatic! from Boonen (Boulogne-sur-Mer) to Narva! from Bisanz (Besançon) to the Black Sea!"[1] But the climax of pan-Germanic insanity has been reached, according to Verrier, in Reimer's book, *"Une Allemagne pangermanique"* (1905). The following are some of the tenets proclaimed therein. *L'Allemagne a le droit et le devoir d'imposer son hégémonie au monde entier. Il faut qu'elle commence par annexer toute l'Europe."* (Germany has a right as well as the duty to force her hegemony on the whole world. She must begin by annexing entire Europe.) These sentences have been verbally copied by Dr. Griselle. Paul Verrier, however, surpasses him in unveiling the secrecies of Reimer's revelations. Germany uses two kinds of Germanization in order to assimilate those populations of Europe which as yet differ from her own. Germanization in a minor degree is to be applied to nations of German stock, for instance, the Scandinavians and the Dutch, where it will not meet with many obstacles. Germanization in a higher degree will be put into practice in countries of mixed races. In France, for instance, the ten millions of Frenchified inhabitants of German origin will be saved so that they may be re-Germanized. The rest will be exterminated or expelled.

For countries where this radical Germanization meets with too great difficulties, certain writers (the learned author apparently is not referring to Reimer) recommend another system. There, only the immigrated Germans will possess political and civil rights, own real estate, and participate in industry and commerce. They will press the native inhabitants into the most humiliating and most lamentable servitude: *les Allemands immigrés. . . .réduiront les indigènes au plus humiliant, au plus misérable des servages.*[2]

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1 "Heimdall" is an obscure publication; it is on file neither in our Hof-und Staatsbibliothek, whose completeness is unexcelled, nor in our great University Library in Munich.
2 P. Verrier, La Follie allemande 9.

This program, according to Paul Verrier, is the ideal of the pan-Germanistic league, which has been joined by 30 members of the Imperial Diet, numerous officers and several university professors.

M. Verrier with caustic irony contrasts this pan-Germanic program to the address of the president of the Prussian Diet (Count v. Schwerin-Loewitz). In opening the last session of that legislative body, the president, rejecting all intentions of conquest, spoke of the war forced upon us, and of the defense of our fatherland. After these words of the president of the Prussian Diet, cited in quotation marks and clipped from an official report or a paper, Verrier also registers the stormy applause of that body. It seems, the French philologist sarcastically remarks, that the Belgians and Frenchmen with an abominable desire for conquest had carried devastation into peaceful Germany. And he concludes his heart touching article in the "Excelsior" with these words: *"Comme on comprend que riment si bien en allemand ces deux mots:* Heuchler *(hypocrites),* Meuchler *(assassins)!"* (We understand now why it is that these two German words *Meuchler* and *Heuchler* rhyme so well.)

Now, the Honorary Canon Griselle having Verrier's insignificant pamphlet as only source of information, does not hesitate to make every pan-Germanist a party to this alleged plan of world conquest or the annexation of all Europe. Nor does he scruple in laying it to the door of the whole Prussian Diet with its 450 members. For, did not "these same pan-Germanists" in the Prussian Diet vigorously applaud the words spoken by the president of that body? And yet, in the entire German Reichstag with 397 members, Verrier had been able to count only 30 pan-Germanists! Dr. Griselle undoubtedly has a much better knowledge of the real facts, or—shall we be forced to qualify the procedure by which he disregards all principles of truthfulness, with an expression contrary to parliamentary usage?

But who is *Reimer,* the author of "Une Allemagne pan-germanique?" I freely confess that I had not heard a single word about him or his book, until Paul Verrier's war trumpet was sounded. Another historian of renown pleaded guilty of the same ignorance in regard to the man. Verrier believes that the people across the Rhine, on account of pan-Germanism, have lost their senses. This, perhaps, will suggest an explanation of our ignorance regarding Reimer! As it is, I had to consult biographical dictionaries of the university library to get at some knowledge about the man and his work.

Joseph Ludwig Reimer, with whom we are here concerned, actually lives in Vienna, where he was born in 1879. He studied jurisprudence and makes his living as an author, belonging to that class of dilettants

who, without any special training in the natural sciences, passionately blow the horn of race theories and race politics. At the same time he is a fanatic trumpeter of the "Away-from-Rome" movement and, furthermore, wishes to deprive Protestantism of its dogmatic features. Moreover, he is a mortal enemy of the universalism of the Roman Empire, the heir of which he considers Austria to be. In his book, "Ein pangermanisches Deutschland," (403 pages, published by Fr. Luckhardt, Berlin and Leipzig, 1905), he confesses to have been influenced in the development of his racial theories by Houston St. Chamberlain, L. Woltmann, Lapouge, Wilser and Count Arthur Gobineau. He really desires (p. 137) to see established a Germanic empire of the German nation, a world empire of Germanic races under the hegemony of the German people. On that account, the Germanic states of Scandinavia and Holland, which in this connection come into consideration, gradually have to be Germanized, viz., denationalized in a more lenient sense of the word. The other nations, which in their great masses are non-Germanic, are to be divided into their component parts; we must draw toward us and Germanize the Germanic parts; the non-Germanic we must repel.

But can this Mr. Joseph Ludwig Reimer of Vienna really be acknowledged as the responsible mouthpiece of the German people? Not in the least! He doubtless belongs to those rare specimens of ultra-radical fanatics, who have absolutely no influence either with the ruling circles in Germany or the leading parties of our parliaments. But how does the pan-Germanic alliance judge about his book? Messrs. Verrier and Griselle may look that up in the "Alldeutsche Blätter," No. 32 of August 12, 1905, p. 274 f. There a critical reviewer energetically shakes Reimer off from the coat tails of the pan-Germans. "Books like that of Reimer," says the critic, "serve no other purpose than to discredit political anthropology, because the opponents of the latter will refer to them in the attempt of proving their contention that political anthropology is without scientific basis whatever."

With all this in mind, we can safely say that Messrs. Verrier and Griselle committed a gross misdemeanor when they paraded Reimer's absurdities.

But let us now consider the great question: Can there be a world power which really undertakes to expand over the entire world, i. e. the whole globe?

Secondly: Has the German nation in former times ever exercised, or attempted to exercise, such universal world domination?

And thirdly: Is such universal supremacy at present thought of, or aimed at, by the German Empire or any other nation?

* * *

The historian will readily see that our discussion is turning to problems which, in the centuries of the middle ages up to the times of the Staufers, in the days of Dante and before and after, often occupied the minds of men. Nor are these problems today lacking that magic charm of which they were formerly possessed, and which, as in the past, also at present arouses keenest interest.

Modern historical research has taught us that the idea of universal world dominion must be traced back to remote antiquity and into the realms of Babylon. It is self-evident, however, that none of the historical world empires actually dominated the entire globe.

In the beginning of the third millennium of the ante-Christian era, Sargon I, king of Akkad in Semetic northern Babylonia, appears as presumably the first sovereign who was credited with the dominion "over the four parts of the world," because he ruled over the land from the Persian Gulf to the eastern border of the Mediterranean. In the land of the dual river (Mesopotamia), the idea of a world monarchy was kept alive for several millenniums. At the end of the third millennium, B. C., it passed over to Chammurapi, the law giver at the time of Abraham, and his dynasty in Babylon. Following the kings of Babylon, the rulers of Assur (Assyria) were called "kings of the four parts of the world," or "kings of the universe." Their world empire of Western Asia, for a time in the 7th century B. C., also included Egypt. After the downfall of the dominion of the Assyrians, the "world hegemony" under the Chaldeans returned to Babylon. But in the 6th century B. C., the Persians under Cyrus founded a universal empire which reached from Egypt into the valley of the Indus and, passing the Dardanelles, sought to expand far into Thracia and the Greek world.

In Greece the desire of national homogeneousness became very pronounced during the conflict with the Persians. But Hellenistic culture, as before that of the Parses and the Israelites, ripened the idea of an all embracing mankind. Thus the idea of world power received a new content mingled with religion. In this new, mentally stronger conception of world dominion, Alexander the Great has become the first representative of real and lasting greatness. Alexander thought to expand his dominion across the Indus to the end of the earth. Under him the deification of the ruler, through the oracle of Jove Ammon in the oasis of Sima, received its eloquent expression. The priests in the oasis greeted Alexander as the son of Jove. This recognition of the great Macedonian as a world savior, as a *soter,* can also be found among the Jews. Just those hardships which came over Israel through the Assyrian wars, from the 8th century B. C. on, strengthened among them the desire for a savior-king who was to end all political urgencies and bestow days of

unbroken happiness upon the sons of Israel. In the writings of the prophets Isaias and Ezechiel, the figure of the longed for savior stands forth in plastic lines. There shall come forth a scion out of the root of Jesse; and the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him. The nativity of a messianic youth was announced by the Jewish promise.. During the afflictions of the exile, the Persian king Cyrus had been hailed by the Jews in Babylon as a liberator. And Flavius Josephus tells us that the great Macedonian Alexander at Jerusalem rendered honors to the High Priest and offered sacrifices in the Temple. The Israelites expected the promised Messiah to be a temporal ruler endowed with special graces; he was to unite the countries of the world into an empire of God, with Jerusalem as its centre.

The mystical conception of Alexander's divine empire liberating the world, is kept alive during the warridden times of the Diadochians. Pompey, Julius Caesar and other potentates at the decline of the Roman republic, experienced its influence. In the year 48, B. C., a plebiscit in Ephesus called Julius Caesar "the God-man descending from Ares and Aphrodite, and the common savior of the life of mankind." His nephew, Octavian Augustus, seemed to have actually become the lord of the Roman Empire, yea even of the world. He as princeps together with the senate constituted the rising monarchial power in the Roman Empire. In the sixth book of the Aeneid, Virgil promised him the expansion of his dominion into the countries of the Garamantites and Hindus. He was to revive the golden times in the regions of Latium where in times of yore Saturnus, the father of Jove, had held the reins of power, in the prospering empire of world peace among the nations of the earth.[3]

The fulfillment of the times had come when Jesus Christ, the Savior and Redeemer of the world, was born. The evangelist Luke in the second chapter introduces the narration of His birth with the famous words: *"Exiit edictum a Caesare Augusto, ut describeretur universus orbis."* The young Christian communities evolved and deepened the Jewish and Greek ideas of the destinies of mankind. Since Christ's death of redemption, mankind is spiritually united by the desire of salvation; hence it must also be united politically in order to be all the more able to attain salvation; the Roman Empire, therefore, with its destiny of ruling the world must bring all nations into one grand political unit. Augustine, at the end of antiquity, lent a classic expression to the great idea of the "Civitas Dei" in store for mankind during the following centuries of

3 Cf. Ulrich Wilcken, Ueber Werden und Vergehen der Weltreiche (Bonn 1915); Hans Lietzmann, Der Weltheiland (ib. 1909); Franz Kampers, Alexander d. Gr. und die Idee des Weltimperiums in Prophetie und Sage (Freiburg i. Br. 1901); the same author, Die deutsche Kaiseridee in Prophetie und Sage (Munich 1896); the same, Die Geburtsurkunde der abendländischen Kaiseridee, in Hist. Jahrbuch XXXVI, No. 2; Ludwig Hahn, Das Kaisertum (Leipzig 1913).

the Germanic-Romanic Middle Ages. It was from this idea and from the still living imperial idea of the latter Roman times, that the Roman imperium was re-born in the person of Charlemagne and, later, in that of Otto the Great. This Roman imperial domain of the Middle Ages kept up the theoretical title to the all-embracing world power to which all nations of the earth should be subjected. Even medieval art repeatedly has given plastic expression to this thought. Codex 58 of the cimelies of the Royal Court and State Library in Munich contains a brilliant picture which represents Emperor Otto III in imperial robes sitting on the throne. He is surrounded by ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries, and four women designated by inscriptions as Roma, Germania and Sclavinia approach the throne in a respectful servile attitude carrying donations. It is significant of the artist's conception that Germania, who carries a cornucopia, walks in third place, behind Gallia, who holds a palm twig in her hand. A more recent miniature representation from the 13th century shows Emperor Octavian Augustus sitting on the throne. With his right hand he holds the unsheathed sword, with his left the globe of the earth which bears the inscription: "Asia, Europa, Africa." By this the emperor is to be designated as the sovereign of the then known world; the inscription which surrounds the image of the emperor, confirms this with the words of Luke: *"Exiit edictum a Caesare Augusto, ut describeretur universus orbis."* The idea of the emperor as preserver of the world peace is indicated by the words: *"Octavianus Augustus VIII. idus Januarias Jani clausit portas."*

Since the 10th and 11th centuries, the title of the Roman Empire to the subjugation of all Christian nations as well as of all barbarian peoples frequently found significant expression. The claim to the subordination of the barbarians, i. e. of those savage peoples who were not yet converted to the Christian religion has been sanctioned by the Church who inserted a supplication to this effect into the liturgy of Good Friday. In this, the petitions for the Pope and for the bishops, priests, clerics, confessors, virgins, widows and for the entire holy people of God, are followed by a special prayer for the most Christian emperor, that the Lord God in the interest of a lasting peace, may subject to him all barbarian nations. The Lord God is implored to look graciously upon the Roman Empire, to grant to its right arm the power of throwing down the heathen peoples who rely upon their own unrestrained savagery.

This universality of power of the Roman Empire was in theory rigorously adhered to during the 12th and 13th centuries, the time of the Staufic emperors. Since his coronation, in 1155, Frederick Barbarossa took delight in sharing with the emperors of old, the title of Ruler of Rome and the Universe. He even demanded this address from

the envoys of the Greek emperor. The inhabitants of Italy who were friendly towards the emperor, saw in him the successor of the Caesars, the ruler of the universe. The non-German and non-Italian kingdoms of Christendom appeared to the imperialists as provinces, their kings as small kings, *reguli* or *reges provinciales,* as vassals of the supreme world emperor.[4]

Even the Oriental conception of the theocracy partly survived in the Middle Ages. We find a reminiscence of it in the concept of the sovereigns "by the grace of God." At the times of the Salians and Staufers and occasionally in the days of Dante, the Roman king, and even more so the emperor, was directly brought into comparison with Christ.

Since the times of Otto the Great, however, the Roman emperors, without exception, were of German blood. The king who wore the German crown was looked upon as the rightful expectant of the imperial dignity. This naturally augmented the apprehensions of a predominance of the Germans in the domain of the Roman Empire. National pride, which as early as between the 6th and 10th centuries induced the Franks to believe themselves to be the equals if not the superiors of the Romans, during the 10th century began to assert itself among the Germans. By the providence of God, so they believed, the Germans had been called to rule Europe, and even the world.

It is not surprising, then, that the western European nations above all, and the Frenchmen in particular among these, were aroused. Even after the Carolingian house in its male line had become extinct, the kings of France, as successors of Charlemagne, occasionally held themselves entitled to the imperial dignity and thereby to the dominion of the world. But they never succeeded in it. Only Napoleon I was able to materialize the imperial dream which the French nation had cherished for centuries. It was of some significance, however, that at the close of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century the French king Philip bore the imperial surname Augustus. The papacy, through centuries,—from the middle of the 10th to the end of the 18th,—never could be induced to vest any other sovereign than the German kings with the imperial crown. In consequence do we see in France, as well as in England and elsewhere, a growing tendency to regard the French and English states and other territories as exempt from the subordination to the world empire under German leadership. *This* conception found favor with the great Pope Innocent III; a less eminent Pope, Boniface VIII, at the beginning of the 14th century, had bitterly assailed it. After long oppo-

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4 Konrad Burdach, Walther von der Vogelweide I 171 ff; Max Pomtow, Ueber den Einfluss der altrömischen Vorstellungen vom Staat auf die Politik Friedrichs I. (Halle 1885).

sition to the kingdom of Albrecht of the house of Habsburg, he, finally, on April 30, 1303, extended to Albrecht his sanction. In his famous consistorial address he referred to the fact that of yore the Pope, as the representative of Christ and successor of St. Peter, transferred the power of the empire from the Greeks to the Germans. Accordingly, the Germans, through their seven electors, select the king of the Romans; and he thereby becomes emperor and king over all other kings. "Nor shall the pride of the French dare to declare that they will not recognize a sovereign. They lie. Because by right they are subjected to the Roman King and Emperor."[5] These expressions, even though they came from the mouth of the Pope, appeared to the French as bitter humiliation of their national pride.

It is significant that, on the other hand, German politicians took the lead in advising moderation and conciliation. Thus, for instance, at the close of the 13th century the Canon Jordanus of Osnabrück and his friend, the Rhinelander Alexander of Roes, conceded in their historico-political theories the Frenchmen's exemption from subordination to the Roman Empire.

In the meantime, the national family of Europe—discounting Asia and Africa altogether—in the course of long centuries had dissolved itself into a great number of independent states. All those who had studied the world and its political organizations had clearly become conscious of this fact. As early as 1024, the abbot William of Dijon in a letter to Pope John XIX pointedly expressed this idea and befriended himself with it. But he wanted to encourage the Pope energetically to safeguard at least the unity of the Church, allowing no infringement of the papal primate, which must be acknowledged also by the Greeks.[6]

More pessimistic minds, like St. Hildegard of Bingen, see in this dissolution of the political unity of the Roman world empire the forebodings of the last things and the coming Antichrist. Still others try to evade the tangles and dangers of general dissolution, by proposing a new federalistic organization of the European states' system. Already at the beginning of the year 1288, "Noticia Saeculi" speaks of the preponderance of four great powers. In opposition to these ideas, the great Florentine of the 14th century with the whole brilliancy of his master mind espouses the cause of the universal unity of the world empire which, according to his opinion, was allotted to the Romans not only by the will of divine providence but also by right. The ingenious English scholar and statesman, James Bryce, a number of years ago called Dante's book "De Monarchia," correctly enough, an epitaph of the old imperial splendor,

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5 Mon. Germ. Hist. Constitutiones et Acta publica imperatorum IV I, 139 f.
6 Mon. Germ. hist. SS VIII 392.

and denied it the importance of a prophetic presage. At any rate, Dante was not the last to keep the imperial idea alive in Italian as well as in German countries. Aeneus Silvius Piccolomini, afterwards Pope Pius II, praised it in the highest terms. At the threshold of the 16th century, a great number of German humanists were overpowered by this vision, and not the least in enthusiasm or number in this respect were those to be found in the good old German regions around Basel and in Alsace. According to Sebastian Brant, the poet of the "Narrenschiff," the Germans are the chosen people who have been called upon by divine providence to coöperate with it in the execution of its eternal plans, and to whom, on account of their singular qualities, fate has committed the task of governing the whole world. All nations shall be witnesses to the incomparable honor of the German people; they all shall see that the Germans are the "People of God"; that they "billich durch ihre frumbkeyt, macht und manheyt willen die keyserliche kron aller erden erlangt haben und auss sonderer ordnung und fürsehung des allmächtigen mit tapfferlich regierung und fürsehung erlich aufftragen."[7] And this chosen nation, called to great tasks, is governed by an emperor who is more powerful than all kings of the world, who is placed as chief above all temporal sovereigns and to whom, therefore, every prince on earth owes obedience.[8]

Not even the writings of Bishop Lupold von Bebenburg[9] and other ardent advocates of the supremacy of the Roman-German Empire during the 14th century, display an enthusiasm similar to that of Brant and contemporaneous humanists.

In addition to the recusation of the German claims to political superiority, since the 10th century and especially in the 14th, 16th and 17th centuries, there appeared in France theoretical formulations which were calculated to acquire for the "most Christian king" universal sovereignty or at least political leadership under the imperial or some other title. I need only mention the officious Norman, Peter Dubois, in the days of King Philip Le Bel, and Antoine Aubery, attorney of parliament in the times of Louis XIV. In his book "Des justes prétentions du Roy sur l'Empire" (Paris 1667), Aubery claims the greater part of Germany as an old heritage of the kings of France. In closing his book, the author points to the marriage between Louis XIV and Doña Teresa of Spain-Austria, and to the Dauphin Louis who, in spite of his youth, already in that day bid fair to imitate the great example of his house which in centuries to come might expect *l'Empire tant de la mer que de*

7 " . . . that the Germans, by virtue of their piety, strength and fortitude, have attained the imperial crown of all the lands and, by the grace and providence of the Almighty, honorably perform the duties linked with this dignity."

8 Jos. Knepper, Nationaler Gedanke und Kaiseridee bei den elsässischen Humanisten (Freiburg i. Br. 1898) 156 f.

9 Hermann Meyer, Lupold von Bebenburg (Freiburg i. Br. 1909) 139-158, par. 11: Das Weltkaisertum.

la terre et la Monarchie universelle (the dominion of seas and lands and the monarchy of the Universe).

While such contentions were going on in the field of world politics, and such conflicting theories, especially in the relations between France and Germany, were advanced, the discovery of America and the sea route to East India on the one hand and on the other the steady growth of the Russian colossus in the east of Europe—who during the 19th century has become a world power—had placed the political arrangement of the world on an entirely new basis.[10] By the discovery of the new sea routes at the end of the 15th century, the Atlantic Ocean had become the centre of world commerce. The Mediterranean lost a good deal of that importance which, in ancient times as well as in the Middle Ages, it had maintained as a connecting high road of the leading civilized nations of yore. Favored by their position on the Atlantic, the nations at the western border of Europe, namely Portugal, Spain, France, Holland and Great Britain, obtained historic greatness. They lived, we might say, in the great mansions near the high road of the world. Germany had to be satisfied with its more modest dwelling in the rear, in the alley of the North Sea and at the bay of the Baltic. Out of the frictions and contentions between the western and the central powers of Europe, since the Peace of Paris (1763) and even more so since the battle of Trafalgar (October 21, 1805), Great Britain emerged as the powerful, aspiring victor.

For the Germans, there remained only the memory of the past world wide greatness which, in the fatal conflict of nations, they never were able fully to realize or maintain even in a moderate degree. When in the high summer weeks of 1806 the old "Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation," actually at first and soon afterward, in consequence of Emperor Francis' resignation, also formally had ceased to exist, the glory of the past had vanished. Joseph Görres, in the storm and stress of his republican youth, with bitter scorn had pre-announced the death

[10] The renowned historian, Johannes Janssen, published, in 1865, a very remarkable essay in which he pointed out that Russia has menaced Europe and, above all, Germany since the fifteenth century. "Russia desired and desires the possession of Poland and the extermination of the Polish nation, not only for the sake of Poland, but also for the purpose of using Poland as basis of aggression against Germany. Russia intends to use Poland merely as a high-road leading into Germany where she expects to attain supreme influence and, in consequence thereof, to inaugurate Russian dictatorship over Europe. . . ." Joh. Janssen, Russland und Polen vor hundert Jahren (Frankfurt a. M. 1865) 4. Janssen recalled the interesting fact that as early as 1492, apprehensions were felt in Germany regarding the Muscovite peril. "When, in the year 1492, the German King Max I despondingly foreboded the destruction of the Empire by the Frenchmen in the West . . . , Berthold von Henneberg, archbishop of Mainz, pointed out the dangers with which by reason of Russian aspirations the fatherland in times to come would be confronted in the East . . . " (l. c. 5) The restoration of Poland by Germany and Austria will be an act of political prudence and justice as well as an atonement for their failure to frustrate Russias scheme in the eighteenth century, and for Prussia's and Austria's accomplicity in the destruction of the Polish empire. However, it is relevant to call attention to the historic fact that Poland's doom must be partly laid at the doors of the Poles themselves who by shortsightedness, corruption and endless internal quarrels undermined their own strength and met half-way the plans of their enemies from without. The restoration of Poland will be one of the most momentous consequences of this war—a task, moreover, which will test to the utmost the good will, the forbearance and political wisdom of all concerned, of governments and peoples. On this account, we regret the fact that Polish agitators persist in inciting their kinsmen in the United States to antagonism against Germany and Austria. Cf. "Der Wanderer," August 26, 1915: "Noch ist Polen nicht verloren."—Editor Am. Edition.

of the expiring German Empire. This was in the year 1797. In the summer of 1807, when his historical sense had ripened, he judged with considerably greater calmness. Very pertinently he speaks of a wide gap between claim and reality. In the third volume of the "Studien" of Karl Daub and Friedrich Creuzer (Heidelberg 1807), he published, under the title "Religion in der Geschichte," a first treatise "Wachstum der Historie," to which, contrary to the original intention, a continuation never was given. Influenced by the Romanticism of Heidelberg, our philosopher expresses himself in phrases worthy of note. As only *one* Church in the Middle Ages embraced whole Christendom, so but *one* empire should enclose the whole political world, "und diese Würde war den Teutschen zugedacht; im *Reiche* daher, das heilige genannt, sollte ganz Europa seine herrschende Mitte finden; als Vasallen sollten die Könige die Majestät der Kaiserwürde als eine unmittelbar von der Gnade des Himmels ausgeflossene ehren; jeder Staat sollte nach dem Prinzip des Lehensystems allerdings seine eigene Selbständigkeit besitzen, der Staat der Staaten sollte hingegen Teutschland sein."[11] But early in the history of the empire—his argument proceeds—, the weak successors of Charlemagne had not been able to uphold the uniting tie. The new time had justly instituted the supremacy of the Church over the State. Because of their opposition, the emperors were punished and humiliated by the Church with excommunication. In this way had disharmony, conflict and violent contention been brought into the system which was destined to lay the foundation for peaceful communion and unity. "Die Teutschen aber wurden von dem zornigen Erdgeist nun verurteilt, weil sie herrschen nicht gewollt, zu dienen in schmählicher Unterwürfigkeit bis in die späte Zukunft."[12] Meanwhile, great centuries have passed into history; their works attest their greatness. Even the political arrangements, so ideally laid out, were an indication to the romantic writer of the greatness of the Middle Ages. "Es hatte das Kaiserreich wie ein herrlich Meteor Jahrhunderte gestanden; jegliches Grosse, was die Zeit vollbracht, war ausgegangen von seiner Heiligkeit; in der Glorie der Göttlichkeit, die durchbrach in der Verherrlichung, sonnte sich die irdische Welt, die in dem romanisch warmen, goldfarbnen Abendscheine brannte."[13]

Since the power and glory of the old German Empire had ignominiously perished, the noblest minds of the nation, the poets and thinkers,

11 " . . . and this dignity was assigned to the Germans; the Empire, called Holy, was to be the centre dominating the whole of Europe; it was incumbent on the kings—vassals that they were—to honor the majesty of the imperial crown as directly issuing from the grace of heaven; every state was vested, in conformity to the feudal system, with autonomy, but Germany was to be the state of all states."

12 "But the irate master reprobated the Germans because of their disinclination to rule and condemned them to ignominious subjugation for centuries to come."

13 "A resplendent meteor, the Empire had stood for centuries. All grand creations of the times went forth from its holiness. The material world, immersed in the luminous, golden hued evening twilight of Romanticism, reflected divine glory."—Reprinted from Wilh. Schellberg, Josef von Görres' Ausgewählte Werke und Briefe I (Kempten 1911) 266 f, 272.

fled into the realms of poetry, dreams, ideas and speech. Here, at least, they thought to conserve to German greatness a secure and lasting abode, from which the German mind might be able to conquer a new sovereignty among the peoples striving for the palm. At the time (the winter of 1807-1808) when French sentinels were still keeping watch in the streets of Berlin and the censor in that city had fearfully to heed the frown of the all-powerful new imperator on the banks of the Seine, Joh. Gottlieb Fichte through his new educational system, which was influenced by Pestalozzi, wanted to establish a new world principate founded on intellectuality and morality ("Reden an die deutsche Nation").

Frederick Schlegel who, in 1796, had stood up for a world republic of independent peoples, as early as 1804 had developed his political opinions into the demand of a universal empire ranking above the neighboring nations and kingdoms. The single states should retain the autonomy of their state personality. Six years later, he developed in his lectures the idea of the establishment of the true empire in opposition to the false empire of Napoleon I; it seems that at that time he thought of a renewal of the Roman Empire of the Middle Ages, under the leadership of Austria.[14]

When liberation dawned on the eastern horizon, Ernst Moritz Arndt wrote his song of the "Deutsche Vaterland" which should be greater than the provincial and tribal domains, and gave it a political content besides. But it did not contain more than the pan-German program: "Soweit die deutsche Zunge klingt" (as far as German speech abides); of a really world-embracing universalism, we do not feel a breath in it.

Before the song of the "German Fatherland" had been written in the north, a curious incident had happened in Munich and the university of Landshut. It had been reported to the ministry of Count Montgelas that a professor of history at Landshut had dared to use the expression: "The German must reign, or mankind will perish." Count Montgelas, "on the order of His majesty the King," under date of March 11, 1813, sent to the senate of the university of Landshut a decision, which in sharp words condemned the reported sentence, and also ordered a personal inquiry of all professors concerned. They all most emphatically declared that they never had made such a statement, and signified their own disapproval. With this the inquiry ended.

In that statement itself, however, survives the medieval ideal of the world-embracing government to which the Roman Empire had been mystically called, and of its God-willed connection with the German kingdom and the German people. As soon as the empire destined for the Germans would cease to exist, nothing could obstruct the coming Anti-

[14] Friedr. Meinecke, Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat[3] (Munich 1915) 75 f, 86 ff. G. G. Gervinus, Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts I 356-360.

christ. It was this which Jordanus of Osnabrück at one time had taught in his tract on the "Praerogativa Romani Imperii" (1280).

At the congress of Vienna an empire of the Germans was not created. Nor was the medieval Roman Empire of the Germans renewed. The newly created German Confederation disappointed the hopes of those who regarded themselves as the bearers of the national idea. Germany's greatness really remained confined to the sphere of the intellect. But the longing for greater unity, for greater power and greater freedom, for the participation of the German people in the direction of its destinies, remained alive. In a prophetic vision, the Suabian Paul Pfizer in 1831, in his "Briefwechsel zweier Deutschen," has drawn a picture of the political rebuilding of "Kleindeutschland," without Austria, on a federalistic basis under the leadership of Prussia. At that time, no plan aiming at a tangible political result was devised for its realization by those in authority. When, at the Diet of Frankfort in the spring of 1849, the "Kleindeutschen" seemed to have approached the realization of their plans, the Prussian king Frederick William IV declined to accept the imperial dignity which was offered him by the majority of that body, and the Prussian ministry under Count Brandenburg refused its energetic support, but tried the establishment of the socalled "union constitution" on a different basis. Thus the creation of a central European state confederation, of a block of at that time 70 million inhabitants, had received a passing place in the foreground of the political struggles. The attempt at its creation failed, however, in the fall of 1850. German policies reverted to the misery of the old Diet. And this state of affairs remained through the long decades of the 19th century, accompanied by longing desires, expectations and hopes, by toasts to Germany's unity, liberty and greatness, which were given at saengerfests and reunions of the marksmen and turners.

During all this time a glimmering hope was kept alive in the souls of the people and occasionally stirred up by speeches and songs. On the red rock of the then English island of Heligoland, on August 26, 1841, Hoffmann v. Fallersleben wrote his famous poem "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles, Ueber alles in der Welt, Wenn es stets zu Schutz und Trutze Brüderlich zusammenhält." Principally through the melodious composition of Joseph Haydn, which simply was taken from the melody written for the "Gott, erhalte Franz, den Kaiser," Hoffmann's song "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles" has entered the soul of every German. Not one line of the poem bespeaks desire for dominion extending beyond the geographical limits of the empire. The song merely gives vent to harmless enthusiasm over the fatherland united in holy harmony. The child's ardent love towards the faithful, caring mother

expresses itself with simple and yet touching words. Only silly indiscretion and ill-willed malignity in the enemy countries have been able to interpret this song as a battle cry of most unbearable pan-Germanism. As little as the Frenchmen will submit to being denied the glorification of the *"douce France"* in the song "Roland" of the 11th century, just as little will we desist from singing "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles." By this we do not aim, however, at the life of any other nation.

Emanuel Geibel's Call of the Herald (Heroldsruf) of the year 1859, is of more political character.

One day the Lord, our master,
Will set His people free;
'Midst thunder as at Leipzig
He'll render His decree.

Then in the fiery tempest
Thy brother-quarrel will cease,
And heroes, born in anguish,
Will hasten thy release.

Until again thy forehead
Shines forth old strength serene,
And thou anew then reigneth
In Europe's court a queen.[15]

In this the patriotic poet really heralds Germany's leadership among the peoples of Europe.

But he was only a poet in whose bosom the flame of patriotic enthusiasm was glowing fervently. Emanuel Geibel never sat in the councils of leading German statesmen. Louis II of Bavaria, the son of his royal benefactor, Maximilian II, withdrew from him favor and pension, when his enthusiasm led him to presage the empire of king William I.[16]

* * *

15

Einst geschieht's, da wird die Schmach
Seines Volks der Herr zerbrechen;
Der auf Leipzig's Feldern sprach,
Wird in Donner wieder sprechen. . . .

Deinen alten Bruderzwist
Wird das Wetter dann verzehren;
Taten wird zu dieser Frist,
Helden dir die Not gebären.

Bis du wieder stark wie sonst,
Auf der Stirn der Herrschaft Zeichen,
Vor Europa's Völkern thronst,
Eine Fürstin sondergleichen.

16 Cf. Paul Heyse, Jugenderinnerungen und Bekenntnisse I 296 f.

But I ask again: Is it at all conceivable that a world power should extend over the whole globe; and has world dominion ever been really exercised or claimed by any people, especially the Germans? The answer to this question cannot compromise the Germans—despite that gloating satirical forgery which, in the course of the year 1915, has been ascribed to the ubiquitous anonymous German professor, and which is said to have been purloined by a faithless student. Ex-president Theodore Roosevelt has fully deserved the questionable honor that the pretended stolen manuscript of a pretended German university professor has been dedicated to him. "La Grande Guerre, Deutschland über alles ou la Folie Pangermaniste Traduit sur le Manuscrit inédit du Professor X... par Maurice Lauzel" (Paris, 1915, H. Floury)—thus runs the title of this utterly absurd product of 45 pages, with which ingenious forgers try to frighten large and small children in America.

With arguments much more congruent than those advanced here, one could point to the world embracing organization of the Catholic Church which considers it her duty with spiritual means and external organization to aim at the spiritual leadership of all mankind. We could also refer to that longing of the pacifists for the establishment of a supreme court of arbitration for the adjustment of differences among the many nations and states of the earth. It is theoretically possible to create such an institution based upon peaceful mutual agreement of all governments; it is also theoretically conceivable that mankind, although divided into states and nations, vest one single supreme monarch with the power of arbitration; such an emperor of peace exercising his authority either in his own behalf or in behalf of the different states which form this world federation.

The tremendous development of the means of communication all over the globe would materially facilitate the establishment and efficiency of such a supreme court of peace and arbitration. But in reality, a supreme peace tribunal of this kind, in the world and for the whole earth, up to this day has never been realized.

If ever an actual world hegemony has been brought near to its realization, then that may be said in the case of Great Britain which, in the course of the 19th century, has striven for, and to a great extent also realized, the absolute supremacy over the seas of the globe. Thomson's famous "Rule Britannia, Britannia rule the waves, Britons never shall be slaves" had in the 18th century in this regard laid out the paths for the popular British feelings and also for the official British policies. According to the British high chant which has become a national hymn, at the birth of nations guardian angels announced the calling of Great Britain to the domination of the seas. "Like an immense ocean

spider it lies in the center of a cable net which rests on the bottom of all the seas, and, with its flying squadrons, it builds movable bridges over all the oceans. England is the first power which in this way has made it possible for itself to uphold an empire encircling the earth; it has become a Venice of world dimensions and with oceans as its channels."[17] Since the battle of Trafalgar (1805), England has not been content with the supremacy of the seas. Many coastal countries have been and are in reach of English cannons. England has successfully tried to close the sea routes to every nation aspiring to sea power. The "Two powers standard," which it began to proclaim officially in the year 1888, furnished the outward means for the attainment of this end. In the World War of 1914-1915 it has become apparent how England tries to control and to tie up even the peaceful and harmless trade of the neutral nations. The maritime supremacy of England has waxed to oppressive tyranny.

Germany has never, on sea or land, actually tried to effectuate anything similar. Nor has the idea of the closer political connection of the Latin sister nations, the conception of the so-called Latin Union, ever enticed our official circles to imitation; nor has the Russian conception of pan-Slavism aroused them. The Russian poet, Fedor M. Dostojewski, who died in 1881, certainly expressed the sentiments of millions of Russians when, in his romance "The Demons" and in his political writings, he declared: "Every great people, if it wishes to have a long life, believes and must believe that it alone can save the world; that it only lives to be the leader of all nations, to receive them all into its fold and to conduct them in perfect unity to the final goal which has been destined for each of them." Poets, philosophers, politicians, jurists and even theologians in Italy, Spain, France, England, Russia and also in Germany, have occasionally declared their own people to be the chosen one which has received the call to leadership from God. Dostojewski speaks thus in the works referred to in favor of his Russians. The German philosopher Joh. Gottlieb Fichte, as early as the summer of 1807, even before the writing of his addresses to the German nation, declared in a much more ingenious and objective way: "Moreover, every nation wants to diffuse as far as possible its peculiar preferences, and as far as lies within it, to embrace the entire human race. It does this in consequence of an impulse planted in man by God, on which rest the community grouping of the peoples, their mutual frictions and their progress. Since all, then, have the same desire, they of necessity get into conflicts, even if they are led by pure and perfect minds, and very seldom would the answer to the mooted questions: whether this is your or your neighbor's natural ally and where the boundaries of your influence should be drawn,

[17] R. Kjellen, Die Grossmächte der Gegenwart (Leipzig, Teubner 1914) 88.

find a premise in reason." But this conception, during the whole 19th century, in Germany never has gained a noticeable influence on the official policy. With the French, the British and the Russians it was altogether different. Czar Nicholas II, through the influence of the religiously colored pan-Slavistic idea, in July, 1914, was led to give preference to the vital interests of Servia and, in connection therewith, of the Russian hegemony in Europe as well as in Asia, over against the vital interests of Austria-Hungary. Naturally, the latter was protected by the German Empire.

The demon of revenge against Germany made France a vassal of Russia. The Fury of the World War, however, was set free in the first days of August, 1914, because Great Britain believed the hour had come when with the aid of Russia, France and Japan she could overthrow the military power of Germany and thus perpetuate her own world supremacy which she believed to be jeopardized by the German Empire.

If official Germany, since the beginning of the 19th century, never has striven for world supremacy, we may ask, on the other hand, whether during this same period she has not tried to make herself the bearer of pan-Germanistic ideas. In this regard it must be expressly stated that "pan-Germanism" (Pangermanismus) as a political movement greatly differs from the aspirations of the "pan-Germans" (Alldeutsche). Anglo-Saxons, as well as Latins, have often committed the error of confounding the two movements, because their languages lack adequate words. They cannot linguistically distinguish between *"germanisch"* and *"deutsch."* Every scrutinizing searcher, whether he be a historian, a philologist, a politician or an anthropologist, soon will learn that the *"Germanentum"* has an immensely vaster realm than the *"Deutschtum."* The first mentioned also embraces the Scandinavian Germans and the Anglo-Saxons of both hemispheres. Not even the above mentioned Joseph Ludwig Reimer's race theories go to such extremes in regard to the establishment and development of a pan-Germanistic Germany.

If there ever was a serious statesman who undertook to call into existence a great political alliance of the Germanic peoples, then it has been the English colonial minister, Joseph Chamberlain. The great pan-Germanic pact which, for the last time in the spring of 1901, he proposed to the German chancellor, Count Bernhard v. Bülow, was planned not in Berlin, but in London and Birmingham. The German statesmen declined to accept it, for the sake of maintaining solidarity among the great powers of Europe.

The pan-German movement confines itself to much narrower bounds than pan-Germanism. But even here we have to distinguish between a whole line of varieties. Dissolute fancies occasionally have run riot in

newspaper articles, in magazine essays and in pamphlets. Since the end of the 19th century, two little brochures above all have received attention in foreign countries. The one is: "Grossdeutschland und Mitteleuropa um das Jahr 1950. Von einem Alldeutschen" (2. Auflage Berlin 1895, 48 S); the other, "Germania triumphans," was also written in 1895 and prophesies that Germany will have reached the zenith of her development in the year 1915. Then, by a victorious war of short duration Germany allied with Austria-Hungary, Italy and Turkey, will have accomplished the subjugation of France. In quick succession the Russian Empire is overthrown, world peace concluded in Petersburg, England and finally America humiliated. At the end of 1915 the Diet of Great Germany and Greater Germany goes into session in Berlin. The allied princes celebrate the fifth centenary of the Hohenzollerns' sovereignty in the March of Brandenburg.

In Germany even today one may be able to look at these visions with a certain humor and with a poetical ease, and yet one cannot but shake his head while considering them. So much is certain that in foreign countries wild fancies such as these have been instrumental in fostering an ever growing hatred against the German Empire and the German people. Thus the ill effects are explained which especially in England, France and America have manifested themselves. In 1904, there appeared in London and New York, an anonymous book of 379 pages: "The Pan-Germanic Doctrine. Being a Study of German Political Aims and Aspirations" (Harper and Bros.). J. Alfred Spender, the editor of the "Westminster Gazette," a publicist in close touch with the English government, as early as 1905 had warned in vain against considering such elaborations too seriously. In 1913, on both sides of the Atlantic again cries of alarm were heard. The lectures of the since deceased Professor Cramb in London, which at that time appeared in book form, are still during the great war strongly influencing public opinion in America against Germany. The book of the American, Roland G. Usher, which, under the title of "Pan-Germanism," appeared in February of 1913, had similar effects. According to Usher the Germans have no other goal than the domination of Europe and the whole world.[18]

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These contentions are not borne out by the actual facts. It is true that, since the years 1894-1896, Germany has completed the transition from continental European policies to a moderate world policy. The steady growth of the German commercial and economic interests, brought

[18] Cf. the interesting article by John Mattern, librarian of John Hopkins University in Baltimore, "The anti-German sentiment in the United States explained," Köln. Volkszeitung, May 25, 1915.

about by German industry, has made this initiation of a so-called new course an unavoidable necessity. However, it was by no means the object of the German Empire like a trouble maker or "Jack of all trades" in this way to meddle everywhere in the affairs of others. On the contrary, also under altered conditions, it wished to be a strong preserver of world peace. This same spirit is manifest in the memorial address which, on January 18, 1896, Emperor William II, read at the celebration of the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the Empire, held in the White Room of the Royal Palace in Berlin. "The solemn oath," the Emperor said, "which His Majesty, our never to be forgotten grandfather, took at the occasion of the acceptance of the imperial dignity, and which has been taken by his successors, namely, with German faithfulness to protect the rights of the Empire and of its members; to preserve peace; to uphold the independence of Germany; and to strengthen the power of the people,—that oath with God's aid has been kept to this day. The young Empire, led by the idea that it has been called to raise its voice of peace in the council of nations with love for all and malice toward none, has been in a position to devote itself unhindered to the development of its inner institutions. . . . And in the future the German Empire, far from menacing other states, enjoying the esteem and confidence of the peoples, shall remain a strong supporter of peace."

At the subsequent banquet in the palace, the Emperor delivered a speech which gave rise to much discussion. "Over this day," said the Emperor, "rests the blessing, hovers the spirit of the one who is laid to rest in Charlottenburg, and of the one who rests in the church of peace. . . . The German Empire has become a world empire. Thousands of our kinsmen live in far distant parts of the earth. German goods, German knowledge, German industry go over the oceans. German goods crossing the oceans amount to thousands of millions. The serious obligation is incumbent on you, gentlemen, to help me in linking this greater German empire to ours at home. . . . With this wish that you in full unity will help me to fulfill my duty not only towards my more closely situated countrymen, but also towards the many thousands of countrymen in foreign countries, namely, that I am able to protect them in case I am forced to do so, and with the admonition which is addressed to us all: 'Whatever thou hast inherited from thy ancestors, regain it, so that thou may'st possess it,'—I drink to our beloved German fatherland and say: The German Empire hurrah!"

The closer union between the Germans living outside of the Empire and their countrymen at home, thus emphasized by the Emperor, is not to be taken as a connection of political nature but merely as a lively intellectual union and also, eventually, a more active interchange of

commercial goods. The Emperor hereby announces a pan-Germanism, which corresponds to the closer union of the kinsmen of the French race aimed at by the "Alliance Française" in Paris (founded in 1883). He did not think of estranging in any degree the Germans in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, or those in Switzerland, Luxemburg, Belgium and the two Americas from their political obligations unto their own countries. It was the Emperor himself who, nine years later, in his famous speech in the city hall at Bremen gave a very clear commentary on his banquet speech in Berlin. On March 22, 1905, the day before he left Bremerhaven on his sea voyage to the Mediterranean, during which he landed at Tangier on the 31st of March, the Emperor declared at Bremen: "When after the momentous times of my grandfather I took charge of the government, I swore to myself the oath that as much as it lay within my power, the bayonets and cannons would have to rest. The bayonets and cannons, however, would have to be kept prepared and efficient, so that envy and grudge from outside would not disturb us while we are cultivating our garden and decorating the interior of our beautiful house. Trusting in the teachings of history, I solemnly made the promise to myself that I never would aspire to an empty world-dominion. For, what has become of the great so-called world empires? Alexander the Great, Napoleon I, all the great war-heroes weltered in blood and left behind them subjected peoples who at the first instance again rose and brought about the ruin of the empires."

In the little book edited by Heinrich Finke in the summer of 1915 under the title, "Kraft aus der Höhe," I spoke, in accordance with the sentiments of my heart, of German greatness, German peace and German liberty. I believed it to be my duty also on this occasion to announce the old reliable principle, "Live and let live," as a guide for the political activity of the Germans, in their relations at home as well as abroad. The principle implies that we demand for ourselves the right to live alongside of all the other states of the globe. This principle recognizes also this same right to live, for our neighbors and associates. At the same time it does not restrain our right to better our living conditions and thus to prevent the repetition of outrageously great dangers such as we are obliged to face in the World War of 1914-1915. After the end of the war we shall not be so silly as to desire life for ourselves alone; we will let others live, too, and not endeavor to impair their liberty and human dignity. The empty world power is in our days incongruent with the right of nations to selfrule. Since the downfall of Napoleon I, this conviction has been shared by all serious politicians in Germany. But when the 19th century saw systems of five, six and seven great powers come forth, each in turn claiming supreme control over the destinies of

the continent; and when now, in the 20th century, a system of still greater, supernational world dominions assumes the final decision in all great political affairs of the globe,—the German Empire since 1871 and 1879 could not relinquish the place which by right it could claim in the one system as well as in the other.

Among the many precious treasures entrusted to the care of the Court and State Library of Munich, I found a little anonymous pamphlet with the title "Die Weltherrschaft das Grab der Menschheit." The title page gives the year 1814 as the time of its appearance, the place of publication not being mentioned. A lead pencil notice of the librarian names as author no one less than the famous jurist, Anselm von Feuerbach, who from Thuringia, Frankfort on the Main, and Kiel had been transferred to Bavaria. The book is pervaded with joy over the shaking off of the chains, with which the Corsican imperator had shackled the peoples of Europe. One could call this treatise an epilogue on the overthrown empire of Napoleon. Without mentioning in any way Dante's work, "De Monarchia," Feuerbach holds opinions diametrically opposed to the political ideas of the great Florentine. Thus Feuerbach says that it indeed was not a dream of centuries, but of a good many visionary minds, to expect from a world empire the salvation of mankind. A good many had waited for it as for an empire of peace and happiness; as for the redemption day of all the big and small evils which of necessity accompany the ever restless fluctuation of freely constituted co-existing states and the unceasing rise from the balance of power to a predominance and the falling back from this into the former. Where *one,* thus they dreamed, stood above all others the small interests of the individual states would be superseded by the great tasks of the omniprevalent Universal State. Every dispute between the states and peoples, as far as any states and peoples would be left at all, would be peacefully settled before the throne of the Pan-Sovereign by his decision. There would be no more wars except where rebellions have to be suppressed or disobedience to be punished. External wars could only touch the marches of the empire. Everybody, then, would live in the quiet enjoyment of his self-earned happiness, under the shade of the wings spread out far over the countries of the earth, under the evergreen palm trees of peace, which the omnipotent World Emperor watcheth and guideth.

But with a firm hand, Feuerbach obliterates the glimmering colors of this wonderful dream picture of the golden period of European world dominion. "That which thou hast given us out of thy cornucopia, was deadly or stupefying poison; thy goblet was filled with the blood of men; thy sun was the fire of destroyed cities; thy peace was silenced misery; thy rest was intellectual death; thy justice was the petrifying Gorgon's

head of might and terror!" Imagination, Feuerbach continues, would never dream again of a golden time in the prison of a world power; a world empire in the full sense of the word, as the dominion of a sole or a single state over all the peoples of the earth never has existed at all; only the youthful ambition of Alexander the Great could aspire to such a Pan-dominion, in a period from which ignorance had hidden the greater part of the wide world. The globe is not an imperial sphere which the hand of *one* emperor can hold; it is willed by nature that mankind flourish in manyfold peoples and families, and that each people, in its particularity and in its original difference, develop and cultivate itself to that standard which it is able to reach through its special talents and faculties.

In these and other expressions of Feuerbach the modest sufficiency of the then beginning "Biedermeierzeit" may here and there be the spokesman; the confinement of the individual state to the sphere of a common language may be onesidedly emphasized—his contention (16 f) is undisputable, namely, that the independence of nations, sovereign liberty of the states in which they live, is the primary condition of every individual existence. Feuerbach is right when he sees in this the sacrosanct palladium of the dignity of man and the individuality of nations; a safeguard which no sacrifices, be they ever so great, can surpass in value; which must be defended with fortitude unto death; which to their ever abiding ignominy, only cowards and knaves would relinquish to the oppressor.

In the preface to his brochure, Feuerbach quotes in French the following sentences which serve him as motto: "A universal monarchy will doubtless be a great evil for the world. Whenever an empire shows a tendency on that score, the true friends of humanity must wish it to change its course. A universal monarchy must of necessity lead to the oppression of nations. . . "

These words were written in 1803, in the year before the proclamation of the empire of Napoleon I. Their author was an ingenious scholar of French extraction who by his thinking and reasoning had become a thorough German; it was Johann Friedrich Ancillon, gone forth from the French colony in Berlin, since 1803 member of the Prussian academy of sciences, 1810 appointed educator of the later King Frederick William IV and in 1832 appointed Prussian minister for foreign affairs. As such he entered into the closest relations with Prince Metternich in Vienna. The chancellor of state of the monarchy on the Danube undoubtedly shared Ancillon's views about world power, and accordingly, in the years 1814-1815, in conjunction with the Prussian statesmen warded off the renewal of the Roman Empire of the German Nation.

Prince Bismarck was of the same opinion. The policy of the new German Empire under his leadership was kept within firmly established lines. Even in the zenith of his power he did not wish to "risk the bones of a single Pommeranian musketeer" for the Balkan affairs. Nor do we today, when attacking Serbia, chase after the phantom of a shoreless world power, even if the advance should be carried forward to Constantinople, to Bagdad and the Suez Canal. We entered the World War not with the intention to make conquests, but merely to defend ourselves. And after the victorious termination of the war we will insist on the rectification of our world position only in as far as the strengthening of our safety demands. These aims furnish the correct interpretation of the words, which the burgomaster of Vienna, His Excellency Dr. Weisskirchner, the former minister of commerce and spiritual heir of never to be forgotten Mr. Lueger, spoke on October 25, 1915, in a great meeting in Vienna, about the future of the Germans in Austria: "Our soldiers have fought not only for victory, but also to that end that we all shall enjoy the fruits of the victory. We cannot countenance a return to the former desolate conditions. From the blood which has been shed on the battle fields shall come forth a new Austria, an Austria where the Germans shall resume that position which is due them in accord with their importance in history and culture. I do not know the coming governments of Austria, but one thing I call out to them: Woe to those who will dare press the Germans of Austria to the wall. We Germans of Austria, faithful to emperor and fatherland, have repeatedly cemented the Habsburg Empire with our blood, and also in this world conflagration the sons of the German people heroically defended the land. Unworthy were we of those heroes if we would not do our part to the end that, henceforth, there shall be no injury done to the German people in Austria. It is our desire that the military bond created by our war enterprises, executed shoulder to shoulder by the Germans and the sons of the Danube monarchy, shall be followed by the strengthening of our political bond, and that an economic approach of the two Central Powers shall make our victories possible also in times of peace. Whereas the battle line extends from the Baltic Sea to Serbia and to the Dardanelles, the economic future, too, shall extend from Ostende to Bagdad; and a great Central Europe shall stand powerful and dominating, dictating to the world what German mind and German will see fit." ("Münchner Neueste Nachrichten" No. 577 of November 11, 1915, morning edition, p. 3.)

It is self-evident that this does not import a despotic and absolutistic rule of the Germans. In the organically developed central European state confederacy, Germans as well as non-Germans, Magyars as well as Slavs will enjoy full equality. Austria-Hungary nevertheless may be

built up more as an empire state of peoples, while Germany is rather a national state.

Neither in this confederacy of states will German world-hegemony find its realization.

The German Imperial Chancellor, v. Bethmann Hollweg, could count on the full assent of the Emperor, the German confederate princes, the German Diet and the entire German people, when, on April 19, 1915, he concluded his great speech in the Reichstag with these impressive words: "Germany has never aimed at the domination of Europe. Her ambition has been in the peaceful contest of nations to stand at the front in the problems of welfare and civilization. This war has revealed that greatness of which we are capable, resting on our own moral strength. And that power which has given us our inner strength we also outwardly can use only in the sense of freedom. We do not hate the peoples who have been driven into the war by their governments. But we have ceased to be sentimental. We are going to keep up the struggle . . . until those peoples demand peace from the really guilty; until the road is free for a new Europe, liberated from French intrigues, from Muscovite lust for conquest, from English guardianship."

16. State, Political Liberty and Militarism in Germany.

By Dr. Goetz *Briefs*, Freiburg i. B.

THE BATTLE array of hostile *civilizations* is one of the pronounced features of the World War. It is the clearest expression of the fact that *everything* is at stake for the belligerent parties. In the grave hour of a struggle to the last, the cynical insinuation of political and economic lust for power fails; hatred and revenge reveal themselves as unworthy and unholy motives; the nations feel that national egotism is discredited, and spontaneously they endeavor to connect their struggle with moral values. The idea celebrates its resurrection; for, nations are not capable and willing to make extreme sacrifices to the end, except in the name of the idea, of ideal values. The desire to sustain the national energy and enthusiasm for the war has led to grotesque things. France, the land of the most radical Church politics, assumes to play the defender of Catholicism against the German nation; England, the nation of the most powerful naval armaments, the possessor of every strategical point along the trade routes of the seas, bent on conquest for centuries, fights against German militarism and for the freedom of the small nations; Russia declares war against barbarism and unenlightenment; all the enemies of Germany inscribe on their banners the fight for liberty and justice.

Whether or not these assertions are able to soothe the conscience of our enemies, is their own affair. For us it is, at most, a matter of psychological interest. We know that we may not expect justice from the French desire of revenge, or from British hypocrisy. But, in as far as this cry for liberty and justice might justify the cause of our enemies in the eyes of neutrals, we are strongly interested in defending ourselves against attacks made by our enemies in the name of civilization.

The offensive of the enemy is directed against two things in particular: against *German militarism*, and against the *enslaving of German public life*. Our enemies desire to liberate the world of both; and by making, to our surprise, a remarkably fine distinction between the national genius of Germany and Prussianism, they wish also to liberate the genius of the German people of both. To hear the speeches of Eng-

lish and French statesmen and standard bearers of civilization, one would believe that they were bent upon fulfilling an epoch making mission. But if we look beneath the surface, we find there revealed the true character of the mission. We behold there in a rare chromatic blend the wily grin of the augur, the Tartuffian raising of the eyes, the narrow-minded self-complacency of the insular inhabitant, to whom England is the measure of all things and to whom the Englishman is the only representative of man.

Let us begin with a brief sketch of the charges. According to the Anglo-Saxons and the Latins, the foundation of the civilization of Western Europe is the idea of liberty and progress, politically expressed in democracy or in the participation of the masses in the external politics of the state and in the internal administration of the government. The principle of nationality is a correlative of the concept of liberty in external politics; the corresponding correlative in internal politics is self-government of the people and the reduction of state intervention to a minimum. The latter principles of popular liberty and popular rule have simultaneously formed the West-European state as well as West-European society and the West-European individual, and have thereby saved society and the individual from the all-devouring power of the state, from an organization relying on force in its constructive work. The specific civilization of Western Europe,—which is regarded as the only valid kind, and as the norm of civilization,—is said to derive its vitality from political liberty and democracy. These assertions furnish the starting point of the attack against Germany. There, the state holds the individual tightly clasped; a rigorous military system schools him with brutal means in the spirit of discipline and of subordination under the ruling classes; drill and pattern are the characteristic signature of the political as well as of the entire German life; a well organized bureaucracy suppresses all independent initiative in civic life, keeps all civil existence under strict discipline, and controls intellectual activity and moral conduct; a well-organized police system embodies the all-ruling state authority over the limited intelligence of its subjects, extending to the farthest village on the Russian border. In domestic policy, a reactionary Prussianism stems even the limited progress of the democratic idea in the Empire, which the constitution permits; the influence of the people on foreign policy is but remotely mediate. In brief, German society and the German individual are only a tool of the will of the state, which latter, as the *suprema lex,* claims for itself all the brain and nerve, thought and existence. This limitation of the individual on the part of the state stamps certain features upon German culture and civilization; it lacks spontaneity and originality, it is mechanical, pattern

like, and unmanly; it raises doctrinaires and pedants, mediocrities deprived of individuality; it attains good averages, but in virtue of the far reaching pressure of the state on every endeavor and free activity, all virile forces are crippled. As a rule, this charge concludes with a reference to the infinite superiority of Western Europe, and to the historic mission of our adversaries to preserve this superiority against despotism and barbarism.

Such are the charges of English and French statesmen and apostles of civilization; such are the at times delicate, at times blunt innuendoes appearing in the foreign literature and press; such are the imaginings of peer and sansculotte. Let us not deceive ourselves. They are directing heavy artillery against us. We might permit the storm to rage unperturbed, if we were a people on the edge of history, without a prospect or will for the future, without the ambition to be heard in the concert of nations, without the pressure of gigantic national forces which impel us to become a world power. But our national development forces us into the arena of world economics, forces upon us world politics. We have no free choice in the matter. All due honor to the powerful demonstrative persuasiveness of the German sword. But there is a sphere, wherein cultural and spiritual powers decide, and in this sphere, more military service, more discipline and a more farsighted preparation are also of paramount importance. Indefatigable enlightenment, but likewise the removal of the many austerities of our system, which we candidly admit and which are not of necessity connected with the intrinsic genius of the whole, must overcome the mistrust of the foreign nations.

The unsophisticated may at first be surprised at the declamations of Western Europe against Germany. He remembers a few facts, which do not fit in with the picture drawn of West-European democracy, popular liberty and civilization. His surprise is aroused when he sees this democracy join hands with Russian absolutism. This locking of arms is an ominous flashlight, since it signifies at least the deliverance of Central Europe into the hands of the Muscovite. But, those who are familiar with the effrontery of the apostles of West-European liberty and culture, know that they readily dispose of this compromising reminder. The Russians, 'tis true, are barbarians; but they are capable of culture and development. Whereas Germany's educated barbarism (barbarie savante) utilizes a highly developed spiritual and technical capacity for the destruction of all culture. The unsophisticated may remember, furthermore, how Western Europe mobilizes every shade of color and every grade of civilization from every part of the globe against Germany, not voluntary auxiliaries, but rather more or less enforced troops, troops pressed into the service and the cause of Western Europe by delicate and also by

brutal means. But even this reminder is impotent to shake the obstinacy of our opponents. The enlistment of Turcos and Negroes is justified by the lack of German culture. And finally, when the unprejudiced observer recalls the colossal oppression and brutalization of neutrals, the intimidation of the smaller nations by England; and when he discerns therein a contradiction to the West-European program of liberty and to the principle of nationality,—he is told that 1. such pressure is not at all exerted, and that 2. it is applied in the interest of European culture and civilization, hence in the best interests of the neutrals themselves. Generally, the unprejudiced party ends the debate at this point, since apparently his logic does not enable him to fathom the depths of the contradictions in the West-European culture, whence not even Hegelian dialectics can extricate him.

But we, too, have become sceptical, and therefore we turn a stronger light upon the much praised civilization of Western Europe. We do not wish to refer to the fact that in itself it is not evident why the Western European solution of the problems of state and society, of state and individual should be the only possible and the only fruitful one for the attainment of such aims as humanity, culture, civilization and personality; for, we perceive too clearly that it was nothing else but historic conditions which led to this solution. We pass over likewise the contradiction inherent in every democratic form of government, which lies in this that only a majority (one-half of the voters plus one are the majority) should enjoy the equality and liberty promised to all. But we shall clearly keep before our mind's eye that neither the possession of a constitution, nor its phraseology and inscribed purposes determine a government's worth or lack of worth;[1] solely determinative are the concrete results, the concrete verification and application of the juridical forms. Similar forms of government may bear within themselves the most diverse contents. If we avail ourselves of this method of constitutional studies, we shall experience that the much lauded picture of West-European liberty assumes essentially different features.—Let us consider *France.* Nowhere is there to be found so great a discordance of phrase and actuality. The parliamentary democracy cannot accomplish fruitful labor on account of incessant ministerial resignations and the fall of cabinets. The majority in power is less circumspect in matters of the common weal than in the continuation in office. The machinery of the state comes to a temporary standstill with every change of government. The ruling faction, dependent upon the favor of the electorate and on parliamentary support and strongly influenced by powerful capitalistic interests, plays predatory

[1] The Englishman who boasts of his "free" constitution, might do well to recall the saying of Pope, "about forms of Government let fools contest"; a saying which is as applicable today as at the poet's time.

politics on a grand scale, seeking to trap every possible victim within the state. The recent history of France is nothing less than a *Chronique scandaleuse*. The machinations in connection with presidential elections and the unscrupulous trade in offices and positions are a worthy parallel. France, so proud of her democracy, has a fiscal system which is a mockery of the simplest principles of equitable taxation, has a social legislation which appeared rather late on the scene and is as yet undeveloped and inexpedient. France, the classic land of the rights of man, the "mother of culture and civilization," tolerates a system of justice which is divested of its sword "now by the sensational press, now by the arbitrariness of the police, now by the arbitrary politician,"[2] now by the mob. The whole world is acquainted with these recent manifestations in France. And is the French citizen free and self-sufficient over against the bureaucracy? Not by any means. The strongly centralized and well organized bureaucracy lords it over him with a degree of inconsiderateness and partisanship which actually lacks a parallel. Dependent upon the ruling majority, this bureaucracy is under obligations to it, and utilizes all means to be active in the interest of the majority and to suppress all "disorderly" elements. If enthusiastic advocates of the idea of liberty have expected a regime of the most capable element from democracy and liberalism, the actualities in France completely refute these expectations. The prospect of governmental positions, pensions and well paid offices entices all ambitious and imperious characters; and in democratic France, in view of the inexperienced immaturity of the masses, demagogy and unscrupulousness are, in fact, the only means of success. Lack of conscience is the signature of the internal conditions of the state, as also of the external politics of France. The people of France, peace-loving at heart, possess neither the internal nor external freedom to cast off ambitious politicians and a venal press, to assert its desire of peace, to suppress the vast armaments and the cry of revenge. One asks with astonishment, whence should come this change of mental attitude in a nation which, in former times, conjured revolutions of world historic greatness, and swept away powerful monarchs in a few days. Jules *Roches* gives the following significant answer, an answer which explains the psychology of the democratic idea: "If such a government would call itself kingdom or empire, it could not maintain itself six months, . . . for the last twelve years, however, down to this day, the French tolerate daily and patiently interferences with their liberty that are twenty times more odious. Whence this dumb resignation? Because the government bears the magical name of 'Republic.'"[3] In fact, if French democracy is the

2 Hasbach, Moderne Demokratie (Jena 1912), p. 182.
3 Hasbach, l. c., p. 599.

realization of the democratic thought and ideal, then democracy is the embodiment of an entity divested of civilization, and deserves to be brought to a speedy end.

British liberty reveals likewise suspicious characteristics to the critical eye. What is the so-called rule of parliament over against the fact that the cabinet of its own initiative assumes serious political obligations without the knowledge of parliament? Who rules today in England, the people, the parliament, or the cabinet? If, at the present time, excitement reigns in England, because of the adjournment of parliament at a most critical hour, we must assume that adjournment of parliament signifies the absolutism of cabinet government. Furthermore, it is a fact that in England, due to the plutocratic restriction of suffrage, only 63 per cent of the male population are entitled to a vote, against 83 per cent in Germany. Again, it is a fact that the members of the ruling party enjoy but a limited freedom of vote over against the cabinet; usually the individual member *must* cast his vote for the government, even when he personally entertains different views, if he does not wish to risk a change of cabinet. This constellation accounts for the great dishonesty which marks the British political system. Beneath the democratic veneer is hidden the absolutistic character of the cabinet, an oligarchy at the side of a king who is a figure head, and above a majority obligated to follow the cabinet. As early as 1904, a member of the opposition party could say in reference to the position of the premier: "Democracy has degenerated into an autocracy." Since then, this development has been accelerated. But let us note some other features that betray little liberty. The present method of enlisting troops supposedly based on liberty, with its brutal moral or physical pressure has been branded even by the English press. Who in England has rejected the referendum, a form of decision certainly most democratic and most conformable to popular rights? Is this not the merit of Liberalism, which harps incessantly on popular liberty and popular rights? The "cant" of democracy prevents the Englishman from seeing the unfree character of his political life. The Irish and the foreigners have a keener appreciation of the reality.[4] *Shaw* describes the British foreign office as a club of Junkers. In many respects, he avers, Germany is more democratic than England; and the Swede *Steffen* describes the influence of parliament in practice as equivalent to zero. The formula, "this is a free country," may accord with the constitution; reality reveals the rule of capitalistic

[4] See the ingenious analysis of "cant" in Scheler's "Der Genius des Krieges und der Deutsche Krieg (Leipzig 1915), pp. 388 ff. Cant is "the habitual mental art of claiming all advantages which result from a transgression of moral and ethical principles, without being influenced by the torturing and the all-activity-arresting conviction, that one violated these principles." Cant is "like a lie with imperturbed conscience"; "ein Lügenäquivalent mit gutem Gewissen"

interests, of a press autocratic in tone (Northcliffe!), of a despotic cabinet;—at times, the mob takes the rule into its own hands, be it by threatening with, and by openly preparing for, a revolution (Ulster), be it in the scandals of the woman suffragets, be it in gigantic strikes.

But it would be only half an argument, if we did not more than retort the attack of our opponents by a criticism of their own political conditions. We have to demonstrate next the positive side by outlining the German solution of the problem of state and individual. We granted that the system has many rough edges, whose removal is desirable. But we reject emphatically the Western European adverse criticism of our political liberty, and consider it at least one-sided, incompetent, senseless "cant." The fact that *Carlyle* and after him a number of other foreign geniuses have acquired understanding and admiration of the Prussian-German political life through a careful study of the same, ought to be sufficient evidence of the fact, that there is more in it than Western Europe is willing to admit.

By their fruits ye shall know them. If the dominating political spirit in Prussia and Germany is so exclusively addicted to drill, is so subaltern and so hostile to culture and freedom, as it is represented to be by our opponents, then the German evolution since 1870 is a problem without a possible solution. Let us record a few facts, which no one can dispute. Germany has become an economic power of imposing expansion and influence; it has become one of the leading world powers in the intellectual and artistic fields; it has become so terrible a rival in the military sphere that other world powers had to combine themselves against it, and that old and powerful nations in their bitterest hatred had to mobilize the entire world against it; it has become an enemy, who has grown equal to this colossal attack by his military and moral and spiritual powers! If ever facts carried conviction, then they must be of convincing evidence in our case. He, who in the face of these facts harangues about drill, uniformity of pattern, tyranny, mechanical discipline, proves either that he is lacking in insight and understanding, or he is malevolent. Only the powerful working of free and personal energies; only the powerful substratum of active and healthy popular forces; only the talent for organization on the part of the leading forces, which are stimulated by consciousness of their accountability and are directed by clear insight; only the freely willed subordination of a nation in the interest of higher purposes—can sufficiently account for the imposing impetus of the Teutonic political, economic and cultural life. It is a specifically distinct spirit, which reveals itself to us in modern Germany; but a spirit is born of liberty,—and cannot be active without it.

It may be charged that this refutation is *"a prioristic."* But a thorough investigation of the concrete facts of the German political conditions will lead to the same conclusions. The right of suffrage of the Empire, and of a great number of the confederate states, is pronouncedly democratic. Unquestionably, the *constitutional* rights of the Imperial Diet are not so extensive as the rights of the Lower House in England and of the French Chamber of Deputies. The peculiar political structure of the confederated Empire, especially the evolutionary and historical conditions, and, above all, the fact that Germany is wedged in between powerful neighbors, and in consequence is surrounded by military and political dangers, do not permit this. Besides, the experience of European political life has shown that limitation of authority has likewise its particular advantages. The war has underscored them heavily. With satisfaction we state that, if we may believe the English and French press, these respective nations are longing to be led by a powerful hand out of the talkative incompetence of their parliamentarianism. The war, as conducted by England and France, proves, at the very least, that democracy and parliamentarianism are not the right forms of government for critical periods; the development of the war is a complete justification of the German system. Before the war even, we behold movements in England and France which sprang from the perception of the many faults and weaknesses of democracy, and which intended to overcome the stagnation of parliamentarianism. "Wanted a man" (Bradford)! This exclamation reveals the sentiment of wide circles. In Germany, certain adventurous figures of the English and French parliament and cabinet would be an impossibility,—undoubtedly very much to our advantage. A strong Imperial power, a federal council, and even the undemocratic forms of suffrage in some of the states, over against fluctuations of pure parliamentarianism and unmixed democracy, are a guarantee of powers of a stronger sentiment of responsibility, of traditional experience and, what is of paramount importance for all political life, of stability and continuity, and thereby of the most essential foundations of the state; they represent unity in plurality, they place right over against interest, the welfare of the state over partisan purposes. Looking at things in this light, we learn to understand the power of the monarchical idea and the powerful monarchical rule in Germany. They are so offensive to West-European democracy, because in their imagination a strong empire is identical with absolutism and despotism. On the other hand, the weakness of a democracy lies in the fact that it is not limited by conservative elements. In consequence, one-sided partisan aims, private interests of those in responsible positions, capitalistic interests, or misguided instincts of the masses forge

commandingly to the front, and with greater or less brutality dictate their will to the "free" people. Government is "authority;" no democracy can free us from this truth; the magic of the democratic idea probably rests in the fact that it is able, better than any other form of government, to mask the forms of authority. Is it not significant that the despair of democracy has been discerned by farseeing minds belonging to the most thoroughgoing and the most typical democratic countries of Western Europe (Lecky, Lowes, Dickinson, Bradford, etc.)?

But the constitution constitutes the state only in its narrower sense. Between this state in the narrower sense and the individual, the entire public life with its abundance of intermediate agencies is erected, and in Germany, more than anywhere else, these intermediate agencies are of a multiform and multifold variety. Communities, vocational associations, organizations of executives, societies of all kinds, private associations in all departments have created for themselves a wide range of tasks, and develop powerful forces to accomplish these. It is false in principle to judge of the measure of free participation of the individual in the life of the state, only by the terminology of the constitution. The question should read: In how-far does the individual also participate in the formation of the will and in the activity of the associations which stand between the state and the individual? And here we must admit that these intermediate agencies are for us in Germany the richest possibilities of free personal initiative; they offer to the enterprise of the individual a field of activity of almost limitless scope. Must we adduce facts? Think of the rich life of our municipalities and of the county and provincial federations of municipalities, based on self-government! Where in all the world do institutions as these develop so enormous a variety of the richest life as in Germany! One has but to recall the stupendous number of self-governing vocational associations; chambers of agriculture, of trade and of commerce; agricultural councils; and commercial diets! One ought to recall the broad scope which is allotted in our social political legislation to the self-government and the free determination of the groups concerned! But let us examine the matter more closely. Just in Germany, as a product of this more recent development, social organizations have arisen, that are born of free personal activity and determination, and are unfettered by state bonds, that influence our public life in a great measure, and are powerful factors with which the state must reckon; e. g. the cartells, the syndicates, the federated banks, industrial organizations of every description, trade unions and associations. In these intermediate forms, there is released an energy, a free personal creative power, a self determination and independence so active, and endowed with such gigantic powers, as the politi-

cal life in democratic states does not possess even approximately, a
which it naturally cannot know, since every democracy is the realization
a vast unit which is composed only of individuals as so many atoms.

Whosoever studies this intensified life,—a life sustained by forcef
personal volition and action,—must set down as an empty phrase t
talk about mechanical discipline, uniformity, and deficient personal fre
dom of action. *The wealth and inexhaustible fulness of life of our sta*
existence in Germany consists in the very fact that it is nourished by
many sources of will, power, and impulse. While the democracy of Wes
ern Europe becomes increasingly centralized; endeavors more and mo
to enforce the immediate will of the state; and, thereby, becomes ev
more autocratic,—in Germany the constant development tends in t
direction of the rich unfolding of self-government and of associations f
self help, organizations in which personal forces can exercise themselv
freely and potently,—and by means of which the people attain to t
participation in the government of the state.

In the *German system,* we behold the will of organized masses co
structively active in the consciousness of their freedom and according
rational purposes.

In *democracy,* we behold anarchy in the formation of the will; v
see the will, that could construct in wisdom, almost on principle push
into the minority by the "instinct."

Let us not overlook what our enemies are so apt to overlook—t
splendid educational work of the Prussian spirit. Organization presu
poses, on the part of the leaders, fidelity to duty in the consciousness
their responsibility, and expert knowledge; on the part of the follower
the ability to become co-ordinated, and to submit to the leadership
others, being convinced of their experience in the respective matter.
short, it presupposes discipline; but that discipline which is born of fre
dom and which says: "thou shalt, because thou desirest it," in contra
to the discipline born of drill, which says: "thou shalt, because th
must." Beyond all controversy, our German public life is so rich
organizations and associations of every description, *precisely becau*
those specific virtues that make for organization have been developed
strongly in Prussia-Germany during hundreds of years by the educ
tional work of the Prussian state. The conception of "iron duty," t
joy of responsibility, the strict training and discipline,—all these a
facts which have sprung from the peculiar circumstances of the Prussi
state system, and they are specifically Prussian spirit. And this Pru
sian spirit is a spiritual power, which permeates our life and enriches
whose embodiment in the political, economic and cultural structure, a
whose coöperation in the animation of our German life is of unparallel

influence. *And today this spirit stands the test, and is proved sound.* Germany triumphs over the attack of a world of enemies. Cut off from all import, it readjusts its economics; it organizes the distribution of the necessaries for seventy millions; it works with the same quiet and absolute precision as in the days of profoundest peace; it frustrates every plan of starvation and isolation invented by the enemies;—and all this in virtue of its organization, of its dutiful work, and of its farseeing preparedness. In almost no time it adapts itself,—a highly expansive and capitalistic economical system based upon export!—to radically changed conditions, and bears in firm and lasting determination all the burdens and sufferings of this monstrous world struggle! What a spectacle of ethical power, what a depth of moral strength,—*and the essence of moral power is liberty,*—is revealed in this gigantic achievement which stands out unique in the history of nations! How insipid and absurd those platitudes of soulless drill and of suppression of freedom appear in contrast with such weighty facts! If ever a war has been carried on by the will and power and the perseverance of the people themselves, then this is true in the case of the Germans. Our people conduct the war, not by means of the sword alone, but with every force it possesses, with heart and soul, in labor and privation, in boundless selfsacrifice, at the front and at every fire side of our German fatherland. *That is the act of a free people. Such activity would be impossible with unfree people that are coerced to act.* By their fruits you shall know them. If that is true, then the Prusso-German spirit and concept of the state is vindicated, and our enemies, both the autocratic and the democratic, stand condemned.

The preceding argument reveals the most intrinsic points of difference between *our* conception of freedom and the conception entertained by *our enemies;* a fundamentally different conception of state lies at the bottom of it.

The English and the French theory of the state have this in common, that both posit the primacy of the individual and society; the state appears as a sort of agreement after the analogy of other civil associations. This means that the vital expressions of the state are bound by fast limitations, by the contractual will of the individuals or the whole body politic. This conception has historically developed from the reaction against the feudal class state and the absolutistic monarchy. It has maintained itself, because it inheres in the idea that the only valid forms of public life have been discovered in liberalism and democracy. The fundamental idea is freedom from the state. The state in France has practically never tolerated this relegation, whereas in England only of late a quiet transformation has manifested itself, due to the influence of German social philos-

ophy and of the pressure of exigencies (social liberalism tinged with state socialism). They see in the state the inevitable institute for the conservation of protection, property, and personal liberty; the frictions in the social intercourse of individuals eventuate in the state. Since every law restricts rights and imposes duties, the state is an entity which must be overcome; hence, we must seek greatest freedom from the state. These ideas explain the Anglo-French solution of the problem of state and individual, of state and society; individual liberty and the right of every individual to the state, (the state being merely a convention) are postulates; liberty is accepted in the naive sense to "do as you please," and is restricted solely by the equal right of liberty of the others; the right of the individual to the state is accepted in the naive sense of the equal participation of all in the convention created by them. The problem of harmonizing the welfare of the state and individual liberty is either left out of consideration, or is solved metaphysically by assuming a pre-established harmony between both, or by assuming a utilitarian evolutionary solution, asserting that every one will promote the welfare of every one else, since in the social organization brutal egotism is a false speculation. *Sombart* justly characterizes this conception of the state as the conception of traders.

The German conception of the state, and thereby the German concept of liberty are fundamentally different. Whereas the West-European state, especially the English state, is based on the individual and society, the strong kingdom is the point of crystallization of the Prussian-German state. And because this kingdom perceived itself to be the servant of the nation, even in the age of absolutism,—ethical absolution in contrast with the "car c'est mon plaisir" absolutism of Western Europe,—and because it always conceived the state as the bearer of broad social, cultural and national tasks, therefore the social philosophy in Germany developed so profound and clear an idea of the state, and in its enthusiasm and admiration for it admitted even forms of state, which today we cannot acknowledge. "Liberty in the state and through the state," liberty not in the naive sense, but an *idealized liberty, born of the conception of duty, a liberty which means freedom from subjective arbitrariness and submission under higher ethical purposes,*—such is the German solution of the problem of state and individual. State and nation—"the veil of the Eternal," a spiritual ethical personality, "the intimate union of all physical and spiritual wants, and of all physical and spiritual riches, and of all the internal and external life of a nation into one great energetic whole of unlimited motion and life" (A. v. Müller). German state practice and German social philosophy have mutually entered into closest union with each other, and have given

the present state its form and content. Thus our state is the "ever burning Vestal fire enkindled by the civilization of all ages" (Lassalle). This solution is equally removed from the absolutism where the state devours the individual, as well as from the democracy which asserts the primacy of the individual.

We are now able to grasp the rich and manifold being of the German state, from which proceeds a stream so full of strong life and of formative power that it leaves no province of the common interests of human life unfructified. Hence, we understand the many possibilities of free volition and action, but also of duties and norms of our public life. Let us well consider, that the German state has not been coerced into this manifold activity by the search for regulation and organization. Since 1870, our German state has offered a surplusage of rich material; the triumphal march of capitalism in Germany and its rapid development brought along with it its own numerous problems in all departments of life, problems which partly are common to *every* form of capitalism in certain stages of evolution, but which partly originated in the contradiction of our *specific German* ethical and social culture and of many phenomena of capitalism. And now the decisive point: *Compared with these gigantic problems and the violent social tensions caused by our large scale capitalistic life, society and the individual are insufficient factors, because they are no organs of central volition and of uniform conscious formation of social life.* To expect a solution from them, is to expect the impossible. The state with its ability to form a central will, and as a moral power, is here the most important and proper instance at the side of the Church and in conjunction with her. A clinching proof is furnished by the fact that the *liberal* government of England, the nation in which economic individualism has reaped its extremest consequences, approached only within the last decade officially and with real energy the solution of the difficult social and economic problems created by modern capitalism. On the other hand, the German state, from the very beginning, has perceived its task clearly, and has interfered decisively; has created the gigantic structure of social and social-political legislation, and restricted or assisted tendencies of development, according as they were dangerous or useful to the basic idea of social justice and of general welfare. Therein lies the secret of the strength of our German life, its power of resistance in the war, the surity of its future. To be sure, this legal intervention signifies restriction of individual selfdetermination and of "liberty," if we understand this word in the naive sense of Western Europe.

The new age is upon us. Our enemies must acquaint themselves with the fact that their ideas of state and liberty cannot be considered

the only valid standards for the entire world; that they are not the only true standards, not the only ones that are in accord with modern culture. Already before the war, but far more since this gigantic measuring of strength has begun, our enemies have turned into the ways first struck by Germany. Farseeing statesmen and writers declare today without hesitation that the adoption of the German model is the only hope of victory. Thus is ushered in the high sweep of the German idea through the world! Have we not seen its signs already? Behold our mighty and incomparable rise; the colossal test of our strength which we now splendidly stand; the efforts of foreign nations to obtain the secret of our power, and to imitate us! The gospel of that liberty which demanded independence from the state, and the gospel of empty individualism has begun to disappear. We hear the echo of its praise grow faint in the distance and witness its speedy downfall. It appears to us like a dialectical proof whose logical sequence we actually experience. We behold *the rehabilitation of that state which is free to act, as long as it is guided by conscience, and which is entrusted with the task mightily to coöperate in the realization of a new moral, social and cultural order of life,*—of an order in which the mandate "Stirb und Werde" (die to rise to true life) will lead the individual to true liberty, and to spiritual and moral personality.

* * *

Shibboleths have their secret marks of identification; they are the expression of a culture which has remained in the rough, and which figures on the instincts of the masses. England is the home of shibboleths; her public life is dominated by catchwords. Even if one did not know it, one could guess that the cry about MILITARISM is of English origin. So much pharisaical indignation and "cant" is embodied in this word that its insular origin stands beyond question. Militarism has aroused a particular indignation in England. It is noteworthy that England singles out *German* militarism, and makes the latter responsible for a heaped measure of transgressions. We are assured that it has caused the war, because it has schooled and awakened the rough and brutal instincts of force in the German people. It is maintained that German militarism is a permanent danger for the peace and the fruits of peace in Europe; that it is the secret disease which gnaws at culture and civilization as well as at the political maturity of the German people. The argumentation is a classical example of English "cant." Prescient Albion sacrifices her billions of pounds and her hecatombs of men for the unselfish purpose of helping pacify the world and of liberating the German people from "militarism." How danger-

ous must this militarism have become for England, when the marshy plant "cant" has put forth such splendid blossoms! He who possesses a keen sense of hearing will clearly discern the undertone of strong ill-will and indignation which accompany the argumentation; he who has a clear vision will read in it a specific English fear which the "cant" generalizes into common fears for all the world, which awaits the ministering and saving hand of England. And the shibboleths mouthed by England are adopted by her allies, who have learned to follow her in all things. The shibboleth of German militarism has been greedily taken up by the variegated camp followers of England.

The credulous is seized with horror at the thought of the misery which this militarism has brought into the world. He sees that the raging flames of war will not subside; he pictures in his imagination the raving lust for conquest which abides in the Germans; he is seized with horror when he thinks of having such warlike and cruel neighbors. In his mind he foresees the decline of culture and civilization in Europe, and a new dawn of Asiastic conditions; he is seized with deep compassion for the French, English and Russians who are so murderously visited by German militarism. He is eager to increase his knowledge of European history, as far as it is shaped by the pressure of German militarism. Consequently, he absorbs himself in history and political geography. But in his investigation he encounters rather peculiar things. He reads of facts which will not harmonize with the conception he has previously formed. The nation which has been decried as militaristic and bent upon conquest, lives quietly at home for forty-four years. It has not waged a single war during this time; it has grown rich and powerful by indefatigable peaceful labor; its national economy is a highly developed and complicated system whose structure and life are extremely sensitive to every cloud forming in the political atmosphere. This nation is so intensely desirous of living on terms of amity with all its neighbors that at times it reaps silent mockery, at times very impudent effrontery. Its neighbors on all sides live unmolested and not exactly in fear of the military nation. Sometimes in silent deeds, sometimes in loud terms, they declare that they will prevent every endeavor of Germany to preserve her interests; they openly combine for the patent purpose to annihilate Germany, and unabashed they tell of their supreme preparedness in the near future. They increase their armies to gigantic proportions; they permit billions to slip into questionable purses, in order to mobilize the debtors against Germany. And the ring of British dreadnoughts closes round the German coast, ready for an attack by surprise. Crowned heads play the role of intriguants, and are seen gossipping at every political door; absolutistic

autocratic princes shake bourgeois advocates by the hand,—and all this with a plain gesture towards Germany. The credulous one begins to doubt about the original picture which he had formed of the situation. He is made completely undecided when he penetrates into the political and—*sit venia verbo*—cultural geography. With amazement, he beholds the growth of the British octopus during the last decades; how it stretches its tentacles towards Egypt and towards Persia; how it has incorporated the Boer States; how it was everywhere busily agitating, wherever political corruption had led up to a possible liquidation in the near future. His amazement augments as he notices that this same Great Britain, whence the cry of indignation against German militarism sounded forth into all parts of the globe, demands the undisputed dominion of the seas for itself and makes gigantic preparations to preserve this dominion. France offers a similar spectacle to him; it has appropriated an immense colonial empire since 1870. Very recently it was able to acquire Morocco; it raises indirect claims on Syria. And then he beholds that German diplomacy, loudly decried as bent on robbery, has frequently supported France in this expansion, and that, despite this fact, France has become drunk on her dream of war against Germany, and that, despite this kind help, she arms herself against Germany in a measure out of all proportions to her power, and mobilizes the Slavic world with the billions saved by her people. Russia, too, was not left empty handed when the globe was partitioned. It has laid its hands on immense tracts of land in Central and East Asia.

The credulous looks for the acquisitions which land thirsty Germany has made. Compared with the territorial acquisitions of England, France and Russia, they are exceedingly meagre. The state which is continually accused of conquest and aggression, has acquired nothing but the *beaux restes* of the eastern and western coast of Africa, and has purchased Heligoland in the North (German) Sea at a great price. For forty-four years, this state has been the guardian of peace in the world; in the interest of peace, it has refused to avail itself of many very favorable opportunities to even scores with its enemies; it has proved itself to be an honest and true friend of the peace and security of Europe. *What a remarkable fact that this military state is the conservator of peace; is most divested of the desire of territorial aggrandizement; is a peaceful neighbor, and a great cultural power in the world.*

And the credulous inquirer records the iron language of facts: German militarism did not thirst for new territory; it was not the disturber of peace; was not aggressive.

But the enemy is bent on proving just the opposite, and to this end the charge is made that Germany's boundless preparations were latent sources of danger for the peace of Europe. Only the strongest counter-preparations on the part of her enemies had been able to compel Germany to suppress her desire of conquest. Of course, the *roi viveur* and father of the policy of isolation was only a "peace maker." But at last, in a frenzy of madness, the militarism of Germany has been able to conjure up the world war.

The role of militarism at the outbreak of the world war has been described elsewhere; here we must address ourselves to the statement that German militarism has generated the fever of military preparations in Europe, and thereby the latent danger of war. Presented in this form, the statement wishes to create the belief that it was Germany who stimulated the increase of military armament, and that the other nations, coerced by the exigency of the situation, followed and, above all else, that our militarism was a thing left to our free choice and willed by aggressive statesmen or by the instinct of might in our nation. In both respects the assertion is objectively false, and is subjectively frivolous or superficial.

It is not true that Germany has given the impulse to the armaments and has determined in a certain sense their pace. Increased armaments of some of the opponents have frequently preceded the increase of the German armaments. In a far greater measure than even these armaments of our enemies, *the diplomatic isolation* of Germany was the cause of the increased German armaments. It does not depend on the fact as to who has preceded others in timely preparation; but he in truth is the cause of the fever of arming, who by his manner of conduct has forced his opponent to provide for the future. And here the full guilt is chargeable to *France,* which has made a conscienceless cult of the idea of revenge, and whose self degradation has gone so far that it pocketed Fashoda and sold Europe to the semi-Asiatic Moscovite system. Next comes *England,* who skilfully knew how to utilize to her own advantage French vanity and Slavic desire of territorial expansion. The tragedy which lies in the Russo-German antagonism, namely its organic inevitability, does not apply to the German and English-French conflict. If the German willingness to come to an understanding had been met with an equal desire for an understanding on the part of the others, the dangerous nexus which finally has cast the die would have been avoided, and simultaneously the rivalry in increased armaments during the last decades would have become superfluous. The persevering labors of the German responsible parties in behalf of an understanding with England are our most striking justification.

This illustrates that our militarism was not a matter of free choice Not the thirst of power, nor the desire of booty have caused its existence, but hard necessities which our will to live had to recognize. I the spiritual eye, led by the conviction that the stream of life is no the blind result of chance, but is directed by wisdom, seeks to penetrat still deeper into the mystery of its development, deep views will b opened to it. The Unscrutinizable Will which has made state and natio the bearer of its purposes and the mirror of the Eternal, has assigne to us Germans special roads of fate. The modern age found us divide into a number of states and politically impotent, whereas the nation of Western Europe had grown into unities of political power and o cultural endeavors. It was Prussia's historic mission to unite th German tribes, to gather into one wide national state the centrifuga forces of the divided German race. No small task! Fichte, a min of clear insight and strong national feeling, had denied the possibilit of Germany's unification under a powerful government! It require the entire tenacity of the Prussian state-will to overcome the centri fugal forces, and to unite into one empire the multiplicity o states. But the new empire did not render superfluous the power b which it came into being. Wedged in in the heart of Europe, it pos sesses broad boundaries vulnerable to attacks and without natura defenses; towards the West lives a ceaselessly restless, revengeful enem who could not forget that he was pushed out of Central Europe; on th Eastern frontier it finds itself exposed to the powerful attack of a empire inexhaustible in men and natural wealth, whose desire of a ice-free sea and of the vital centers of Europe was a constant danger If it is our mission to protect Europe against the flood of the Moscovit hordes, a stronger military armament was our duty. Our enemies wh decry our militarism today, have, in their sane moments, recognized th world historic significance of our army as a bulwark against the East But our national evolution, too, forced us onto this way. We wer compelled to create space and nourishment for the fruitful growth o our people. The German industrial state has grown up into a economic power of international import; it has supplied the stream o an ever increasing population with the means of existence. Therei lies its significance for the consolidation of the German element in th world; today we export merchandise, where formerly we exported me But thereby we became most intimately interwoven with world com merce. One pillar of the massive German economic structure is erecte upon foreign soil, and depends upon the good will or the ill will o foreigners. In consequence, we have no free disposition in the matter army and navy are vital necessities; for, on their protection rests ou

economic life, and on the latter, in turn, depends our resource in men and wealth, our future as nation and state, the fulfillment of our historic task. Not the voluntary adoption of militarism has shown us this path, but an *iron fate has forced* it upon us. It was not willed by the instinct of might of the German people, but by necessities which are deeply anchored in our national destiny. Though the meaning of these necessities may be veiled to us, and also the mysterious destination towards which they lead us, nevertheless, as a nation we must accept them.

Inexorable necessities, not the desire of power and lust of war, made us arm ourselves. In view of our political situation, the condemnation of German militarism conceals such a degree of ignorance, —hiding itself behind shibboleths and "cant",—and so much effrontery, that it easily qualifies itself as "made in England". It is genuine British hypocrisy: not to have militarism because it is not needed, and, at the same time, to pronounce this freedom from militarism a virtue; and, on the other hand, to show moral indignation at the impudence of other nations who also launch dreadnoughts. What does *Bernard Shaw* say in *"Man and Superman"*: "My dear Tavy, your pious English custom of seeing a moral gymnasium in the world, which has been instituted solely for the sake of strengthening your moral character, occasionally induces you to reflect upon your own damned principles at that moment when you ought to be reflecting on the needs of other people".

But we wish to be fair. We do not charge the individual with slander; but we do accuse *the entire British mentality.* From that point of view alone, the charge of militarism becomes intelligible, as it is likewise this mentality which alone sees in militarism an object of reproach. British psychology firmly believes that England is the representative of Providence on earth; and, as "God's own country", is called to be the only valid norm of all nations, and is bound to regulate the course of the world. This belief is a powerful, hidden spring of British might. England the measure of all things! The Britisher, British public life the standard for all nations! The naivety of this faith explains the pretentious criticism of everything not-British, explains also the attitude toward war, army and military service. Viewed from the angle of British commercial considerations, war is a slaughter of men; England knows no deeper philosophy of war. Recently the *"Times"* expressed this view in a classical phrase. It is the duty of the English army on the Western front "to kill as many Germans as possible". *Lord Fisher* expressed the same view: "burn, sink, destroy"; a primitive morality of war, but the expression of English practice.

It is conceivable that such a conception of war generates, as its ethical counterpart, the propaganda for perpetual peace, and that the biological sociology of Spencer permits of the realization of permanent peace as a consequence of the progressive industrialization and commercialization of the world. Hence, we understand the indignation with militarism; abstracting entirely that militarism, seen from the angle of the shopkeeper, is a costly institution, it is only a *machine with which to murder*; hence a highly immoral institute. Of course, there are instances in which this shopkeeper's philosophy sanctions war and militarism; namely, when good money may be extracted from them; the conquest of India, the Boer war, Egypt! Then, war is a business like any other, and business is business. And then, of course, the Britisher invests himself with the "cant" of morality.

War as murder, war as plunder,—that is the characteristic of the English conception of war; and simultaneously its condemnation. For only the English conduct of war is murder, only the English army is a predatory colonial army. This conception explains why the soldiery is despised in England; it makes us understand the opposition to military service on the part of the majority of Englishmen, makes us understand that the army is recruited from the lowest social strata. This disinclination to militarism is strongly fostered by *English individualism* and the consequent *conception of the State.* With the clear and strict demarcation and greatest possible limitation of the sphere of the state in relation to the individual, the army as an institute of power, in the hands of the government, is a menace to individualism and political rights, is the vulnerable part of democracy. Present-day England has not forgotten the lessons of the past history of England; it has constructed a theory from past experiences, which runneth thus: the smallest army possible under the strictest control of democracy. And the last feature which renders militarism so detestable to the Britisher bears a specifically English imprint. The highly developed individualism and the accentuated difference of classes regard drill and discipline as brutal coercion. To sum up: After the manner of true Britishers England applies that conception of militarism, which it has evolved from *her own* experience and *her own* practice, to other nations, and is not aware *that it passes the sentence of judgment upon itself.* For it is beyond all doubt that the caricature which the English mirror of morality holds up to us, does not in the least square with our military system.

We are not unmindful of the dark sides of the German system. The splendor of our army loses nothing, if we admit that excesses and rudeness of subordinate persons occur, a defect which may result from an

institution including vast masses and based upon obedience. We concede, furthermore, that militarism connotes compulsion, discipline, drill, and may cause a certain stupefaction of soul and mind. We regret that some forms of military intercourse and military rank extend into the civil life and evoke socially undesirable consequences. But this does not alter the fact that *our German army system is a cultural force of the first magnitude, productive of educational achievements, an organic member in the great entity of the German system.*

Two fundamental facts of our militarism point out to us its nature: our army is *an army of the people;* and our army is *an organic constituent in the totality of our German culture.*

Our army is *an army of the people.* Every citizen able to bear arms is obliged to join the army, and personally shares in the dangers and sacrifices of belligerent undertakings. In itself, this does not produce a decrease of the lust for war or a better adaptation for defensive than for offensive purposes. Russia and the Balkan prove the contrary. When, however, extremely complicated and vulnerable economic relations and cultural attainments are bound up with the military system, then universal military service signifies a potent suppression of all aggressive desire; for, in that case, this system of military service brings with it grave dangers for the existence of every one and great personal sacrifices. The modern compulsory army of the highly developed capitalistic state is adverse to all aggressive policies; its very existence is meant to guarantee peace. Of course, the causes of the small desire of aggression are at the same time the causes of a most powerful defensive force; in the degree in which the decision in favor of war is made more difficult, in that same degree of ferocity and bitterness it is fought out. The German army, as the army of the people of a highly capitalistic state of advanced civilization, *is not an army of conquest, nor a powerful tool in the hands of ambitious or adventurous politicians, or of a profit seeking moneyed aristocracy.* But it fights the war *forced upon it* to the end with a determination as hard as steel, and with a will determined to win. All the restraints which universal military service offers to aggressive desires, do not exist in the case of an army *constituted of mercenaries.* The very idea of a mercenary army, which is an institution functioning apart from the nation, makes it an organ of aggression and a means of extending power. Compare German and English policies during the last decades!

The army of the people is *the most democratic form* of all military systems. In the uniform the many social distinctions disappear which

the most democratic civil life still possesses. It is true that grades of position exist, but they are determined from military viewpoints, and are divested of the mortifying and embittering character of social strata of the civil life. Besides, every rank and station must commence with the humble service of the ordinary soldier at the front. Thus, despite all contrary assertions, military compulsion *promotes democratic thought and sentiment.* The situation is entirely different in the case of *the mercenary army;* superiors and the rank and file come generally from different social classes; the democratic contact of all social strata is lacking.

The army of the people develops *the higher morality.* Its purpose is defense; being composed of all classes of the nation, it secures a strong admixture of a highly developed moral refinement and of an advanced average of culture; in it, there live the specific martial virtues—chivalry, courage, power united with a spirit of generosity. Hence, it follows of its own accord that to the army of the people war does not denote organized plunder and murder, as it does to the mercenary army. This higher moral power manifests itself in the estimation and treatment of the individual soldier. The public criticism of crude and extreme treatment of the soldier is more sharp; and the higher average of the quality of the popular army, in contrast with the mercenary army, produces, concomitantly with all its severity of discipline and training, regard for the human dignity of the individual.

The army of the people develops *a greater degree of physical and moral power, and thereby an increased belligerent sturdiness of the individual.* This is done immediately by the drilling and disciplining of the whole nation. In this respect it is necessary to strip the rough shell and to look at the precious kernel of the matter. It is not possible to establish numerically the significance of military training and discipline for the bodily health, sturdiness and powers of resistance of the people, but certain it is that the plenitude of the strength of our nation springs in a goodly measure from this source. Of greater importance it appears to us what is overlooked by our opponents: *strong moral forces* are born of our military training. It trains the people in mental alertness, in self-conquest, in the willingness to make sacrifice, in the sense of duty in the performance of every task, in punctuality and exactness in all things, in the capacity to form resolutions, in self-reliance, in adaptability, in the voluntary subordination of all personal inclinations and impulses to commands. The eminent significance of military training has been

appreciated in its deepest foundation and has been valued as a factor of culture by the authorities of modern pedagogy (F. W. Foerster). If the war is the *"examen rigorosum"* of the armies, our army has passed its examination splendidly. Never was war so great a test of the power of bodily and moral efficiency; never has a nation advanced so powerfully the boundaries of the physically and morally possible as the German nation. We know how to estimate what drill and discipline have contributed to this success; but we also know *the limitation of the efficiency of drill and discipline;* the example of Russia has taught us that. *Beyond the achievements of drill and discipline there lies in our victories the immense might of our nation, and the life-bearing stream of our great German culture.*

Here is the point, *where the ingrafting and dependence of our military system on the totality of our culture manifests itself.*

This is the fact which shatters the attempt to play spiritual Germany against militaristic Germany. How little is England, which makes this charge against us, able to look through the mask of its own system! With what short-sightedness it overlooks the uniform character of our entire national life! *The most intimate and active connection unites the culture of our nation and our army; living forces flow back and forth.* The philosophical depth of German thinkers and the penetrating clarity of German statesmen have viewed this vital and innermost connection. The spirit which produced the German ethics of duty and the philosophy of the life-forming will, the spirit which generated the idea of moral liberty and personality,—is the spirit which created the Prussian state, formed our German life, *animates our army system.* It is a spirit that is rooted in specifically *Christian* soil, and which has imbibed the ethics of Christianity mightily and eagerly. And while it has united to a higher unity the idea of human dignity and duty, it laid the foundation of the unyielding life-energy which, politically and culturally, courses through our nation and state system in all the manifestations of life. It is the spirit which creates its own body! Need we still to demonstrate the immense powerful vital connection of our entire national being? It suffices to indicate the radiations: our will to live, our national ethos, our culture and economics permeate state and army, and obtain in them new forms of expression in discipline, talent of organization, adaptability, consciousness of responsibility, and devotedness to duty. Through these they are the potent pillars of our economic virtues, the granite founda-

tions of our international economical power, and from these, new fruitful streams flow back into the being and the developing of our national life.

This spirit for us is our fate and our future! It forced us politically and economically to assume the role of the world power, thereby it elicited the enmity of nations, and brought us the war. *But it bears within itself at the same time the power of victory;* the all-powerful impetus with which it fights our battles, sustains our economy behind the front, furnishes us with the means to carry on the war, organizes, creates, sacrifices, suffers in the consciousness to be one with those at the front, *in the faith in the future of German culture,* in the consciousness *to be a valuable member in the wisely planned interdependence of all occurrences on the wide earth.*

17. German Social Culture.

By Prelate Dr. August *Pieper*, General Director of the People's Society of Catholic Germany, in München-Gladbach.

AMONG the happiest reminiscences of my social labors, I count the hours in which I was privileged, since the inception of the nineties of the last century, both at home and abroad, to hold friendly converse with Catholics of almost every nation of the European continent, and not rarely with Catholics of America, about the hopes and cares of Catholic social action to which Leo XIII. has given such a strong impulse and so significant lines of direction. We were happy to be able to impart views and to learn from each other by our literary publications and by personal exchange of thoughts. In these confidential intercourses, the friends from foreign lands who desired to know the system of our practical social labors, addressed to us two questions in particular. For one thing, they wished to know the "secret" how the Catholic social organizations had struck their roots so widely and deeply in the Catholic population without distinction of classes. Without fail, they added another question which interested them in a greater measure, since in their own countries the solution lagged so far behind: how, despite the religious schisms and the intense rivalries of the antagonistic systems of belief and philosophical speculations (Weltanschauung) of their fatherland, it was possible for the politically and socially well organized Catholics to exert a determining influence on the social legislation and administration, and no less on the development of the non-confessional social trade and industrial organizations and on the promotion of the popular welfare in general. This question was apposite; for, the Catholic, in obedience to his Church which is a divine institution, feels himself impelled to be helpful to all and to do good unto every one. Hence, the friends from foreign lands desired to be able to serve their people and country, of whose needs they spoke so fervently, by all the social activity which can only be drawn from the rich fountains of Catholic thought. On these occasions, it was ever a source of delight to me to be permitted gratefully to indicate how much the achievements of our social action—be they in the Center party of the German Reichstag and the parliaments of the individual states, or in the denominational and civil associations

and institutions—found favorable conditions, promotion and help in the traits of the German national character, in the peculiarity of the German system of constitution, in the traditions of German princes and governments, in the agreements of social demands made by the great citizens' parties, in the coöperation of the Christian denominations, and, not least, in the successful preliminary labors and the admirable support on the part of our science of national economy. I told them that the combats of our social work, in behalf of the enforcement of the great moral demands of Christianity, respect of human dignity and of the family, observation of the Sunday, protection of youth and women, etc., had in no degree been less decisive for the victories of the social reform work than the appeal to the demands of Christian moral doctrine in the social messages of two German emperors, and in the programs of the social thinkers of the Evangelical party. And, though I have always cautioned them at such occasions against the mechanical adoption, in other countries, of methods which have proven efficient in our own country,—I have never failed to indicate how the Catholics of foreign countries might seek and discover similar points of contact with the active social forces in their country, and with the ordained bearers of social reform in civil and economic spheres. These orientations were received with great interest in the circles of the so-called active Catholics to whom fruitful labors for the community are the norm and aim of their cares and efforts; and they frequently expressed in most generous terms their admiration for the superior merits of German character and German labor.

These hours and days returned to my memory again, as I came upon the caricatures of German thought and culture which Gaudeau and Goyau drew before the eyes of the neutral Catholics in order to influence them to take sides against the German nation that has been forced to unsheath the sword. Is it possible, I asked myself, that not only others but also Catholics of foreign lands could, for so many decades, have been so intensely interested in a German people of this type,—in a people which is here unmasked as the exponent of "social or rather anti-social anarchism," and, therefore, as "a threatening danger to the Church and the civilized world"? (28). Have they been interested in the German Catholics whose "hypocritical endeavors of declericalization are a greater menace to the Church than the brutal anti-clericalism" which was active in France up to the present hour? (28). In the German Catholics "who lack the energy necessary to offer resistance against the anti-Catholic and fundamentally anti-religious modern German spirit" (29); "who were put to slumber by the civil authority; who had become subservient to a regime of force and oppression; who politically, socially and doctrinally were swept along by the current of (un-Christian) German-

ism;" and amongst whom, as a consequence, "modernism has caused the greatest devastations?" (29). And even though Goyau, equipped with a better knowledge of men and things, does not directly include the Catholics in his charges, still his indictment that German culture is Protestant, yea is greatly even anti-Catholic and anti-Christian (39), gives rise to the question: Will the appeal to some flagrant instances which are sporadically found in the ever onrushing high tide of German intellectual life, be able to extinguish in the memory of foreign Catholics the image of the healthy German cultural life which the Catholics have helped to fashion with such energy and efficiency, so that foreigners, even in France, believed themselves justified in allowing themselves to be spurred on by this example and in following it?

But, precisely because the contrast between caricature and reality is so grotesque, these caricatures of German nature and culture must be dashed to pieces by nothing else more speedily and more thoroughly than by a description, be it in ever so rough outlines, of that which the German Catholics, in collaboration with the majority of the non-Catholic population and oftentimes with their enthusiastic recognition, have achieved in behalf of the development and of the culture of the German people. For this reason, we submit here a brief sketch of those efforts and achievements of the German Catholics. In contrast to the passionate rhetoric of the one accuser and to the loose collection of points of indictment proffered by the other plaintiff, let there be adduced the gigantic accomplishment of the cultural labors of a progressive people achieved in the course of one generation, filled with struggle and toil. I, for my part, confine myself to German *social culture*. That culture seems to me especially adapted for defense, because, according to the dictum of Riehl, the celebrated historian of civilization, he who desires to know the German nation in its very essence and characteristic, must study it at work. But in what field of cultural endeavor had the German nation to accomplish a greater and more fertile task than in the construction of a new social culture? Germany, so to speak, was obliged to settle an increased population of almost thirty millions within the course of forty years on the alluvial land which had been formed by a powerful capitalistic development dating from the foundation of the Empire. Fully one-third of the population hearkened to the call of a new life, the life of the industries which introduced them into an entirely newly constituted atmosphere of living. Where formerly two-thirds of the nation had pursued the arts of agriculture, today the same proportion of the population is employed in the industries, trades, and commerce, and depends on them. The face of vast country sides was changed by being drawn into the great cities which rapidly increased in their number and inhabitants. Assuredly,

many villages and towns which were not in direct and intimate contact with the new development, were able gradually to incorporate the new industrial population in the old traditional customs of the country-town or the small scale city. In general, however, industry, commerce and trade deluged the larger cities and their environments, or transformed whole tracts of the country into industrial centers. It became necessary, as a consequence, to build anew our cities and greater cities along entirely changed lines of organization and cultural duties, and to create, out of chaos, for the millions who were torn out of the ways of settled country life, a new home in a new environment. No difficulties were spared this task. The new and the old collided. All those conflicts which the individual must bear as a consequence of deep internal changes, were repeated in the most pronounced form in the instance of more than half of the German nation. Moreover, the agricultural population which still lived in the agricultural environment, experienced likewise the deep effects of the change of pursuits, which produced a change in the relation of city and country life in favor of the former, after the agricultural life had given the impress to the cities for centuries. Somewhere else I have described the character of the conflict thus: "Many disillusions awaited those who wandered into the ever growing centers of industry. The original inhabitants at first treated them as invaders, confining them to workingmen's quarters or rear houses. The newcomers found no equivalent substitute for the homes which they had left, in their new habitations which they found fully unprepared for this influx; nor were they themselves equipped to preserve what in their former mode of living was adaptable to the new circumstances. It is true that they earned better wages, and thereby the possibility was given to increase the standard of life, especially in food, clothing and recreation. In the housing conditions, however, a marked deterioration set in, and still more with regard to all those things which raise life to a more dignified and spiritual level, which give it moral stability, support and assurance, and which bring about social and vocational contact. The connection with the Church as a religious community, which was so dominant under the old conditions, was, in a great measure or entirely, lost to very many. True family life declined. Formerly, the family was the unit of production and ownership; now, however, it became almost exclusively a unit of consumers. Occupational employment could be found almost exclusively outside of the home. Wages were paid immediately to the individual; and often they were retained by the wage earning youth. Too many interests attracted the members of the family outside of the living community of the home, and undermined it. Marriage and education were equally injured. The population of the cities became unacquainted with

nature and her educative and formative influences; the predominant industrial life exercised an influence preponderatingly materialistic. Those who wandered into the cities as adults, still derived inspiration from the inheritance of their native culture which, even though it had been simple or meagre, was at least well rounded off and productive of rich ideal forces. Those, on the other hand, who entered the cities while young, or the immigrants' children growing up in the city, suffered gravely under the incompleteness, the crudeness, and the oppressiveness which obtained in the upward-struggling new communal culture. In addition, a matured vocational culture was lacking in the new masses of laborers and employed, into the midst of whom the radical currents brooking no opposition found free and unopposed access."

No other nation of the Continent was confronted with an equally great problem. But the force of German national life which, without reliance upon foreign countries, developed such powerful industrial progress from within; which struck out a path for itself; which soon won a place for itself in the world-market beside older industrial nations—this vital power which not only preserved native agriculture, but caused it to flourish beside the cultivation of industry, and which succeeded in creating conditions wherein the competition between large and small business in trade and commerce did not result in the suppression of the weaker industry but in the renovation of its vital capacities,—has within a period of thirty years of far reaching social labor supplied the new class that grew up in its fertile womb, and in no less degree the old (occupational) classes with a *social reform* which to a great extent has ameliorated all these evils and defects, and which has opened new fountains of life. Today this system which permits further development of the old social and national civilization through the agencies of the State, the community, the Church and private social enterprise, is perfected in all its fundamentals, and the new style of the culture of life has been discovered. It did not halt at the surface, but penetrated the depths with characteristic German thoroughness. The starting point, and the most solid foundation of this social reform, has been the state protection and insurance of labor which have been completed in the meantime by being extended so as to include now all the occupational classes of workers and employes from the child upward and inclusive of the old who are unable to work, of male and female, even, to a large extent, of the family, the fountain head of the nation. The depth and fertility of this reform has been demonstrated especially by the German system of insurance for laborers and employes which recently was extended to widows and orphans,—not to mention the system of labor-protection with its beneficient effects on health and morality, on the promotion of family

life, on the education of youth, and the safeguarding of the personal dignity of the laborer. The favorite idea of the German system of insurance consists not so much in the care of those who are incapacitated from work, as in the prevention and removal of all injurious and destructive causes; in fine, in the cultivation of the forces of life. It was this very leading thought, which has gained the sympathies of employers and laborers, even among the adherents of social democracy, for the gigantic structure of the German system of the care of national health, the corner- and foundation-stone of national welfare. It has also proved to be the fertile seed of a voluntary further-development of the foundations laid by the State and made obligatory on all. One has but to read the annual reports of the centers of this public insurance in the provinces or the smaller states (Landesversicherungsanstalten), in as far as they have reference to invalid insurance, and he will see what sums of money they annually disburse for sanitary requirements, for building loans to benevolent coöperative building societies, districts, cities and rural communities for the erection of small homes, for homes for working people, hospitals, sanatoriums for tubercular patients and for the cure of drunkards, orphanages, kindergarten-schools, public bath houses, water works in agricultural districts. The revenue set aside for the prevention of tuberculosis steadily increases, thereby enabling the cities and the country to organize institutes for the cure and care of tuberculosis; and it finds itself rewarded by the repression of this nation-wide disease. These insurance institutes, managed jointly by representatives of employers and laborers, have set themselves the further task to take care of the sick in those country districts which are too remote from hospital and physician, by educating and engaging nurses and visiting nurses. The overwhelming majority of the Germans still take a sincere interest in the children and in the plenteousness in children; to him they are an indication of the healthy forces of his nation, of his optimism of life, of his impulse to create life. Hence also the zeal with which the care of infants is cultivated throughout the nation, and this again with the support of the institutions of national insurance.

In this manner, the German nation has placed its labor-protective and labor-insurance legislation in the service *of the cultivation of the forces of life and of the morally refined enjoyment of life.* Therein the nation has exercised a cultural influence on the totality of its moderately circumstanced citizens, including the classes of the small scale and agricultural undertakers.

When other nations follow it in this point of the program of its social legislation, then only does the German nation regard them as fully valid competitors. But this reform has also become a nourishing soil of

popular culture, which ever produces new social and cultural organisms in the national life. It has achieved in particular two great effects upon the entire population, which, throughout the land, have elevated its prosperity and wellbeing to a higher plane. In the first place, by natural development, State, community and private social activity were forced to include in their social reform work also the other classes *(Stände)*, and in all spheres of welfare work to posit far greater demands in the extent, intensity and method of this labor; the second consequence lies in the awakening of the broad masses and in their education to self-activity in the cultivation of welfare work and in the progress of culture. The nation is snatched away from the dreamy and fatalistic theory of non-disturbance in the struggle of life, and is educated to a rational preservation of life, to care of health, and to ethical cultivation of life. Since the triumph of social legislation, we discern in vast strata of the people a growing intelligence in favor of coöperation in the fight against tuberculosis and other contagious diseases, as well as against alcoholism; an increased interest in the protection of mothers and infants; in the cleanliness of the body as well as of clothing and the home; finally, we find an increasing appreciation and a healthy pursuit of intellectual education, of vocational thoroughness, of economic advancement, of personal interest, and coöperation in the economic, civic and social life, as also in the national life of our people.

If any one wishes to ascertain how widely and deeply the first of these two effects has already seized the totality of the nation, and what further consequences—the best results in the promotion of our new national culture are as yet to be achieved in a new age,—are to be expected in the future when the German nation goes forth from this World War with undiminished forces and morally purified and strengthened,—let him investigate and weigh the mighty imprints he discovers in the life of the state and the communities as well as in the ever widening efforts of the people to promote general welfare.

The *State* received ever growing returns from its social legislation. The governments of the Empire and of the individual states, as well as the parliaments which were unanimous in favoring the social reform, did not want to see the extensive middle classes of agriculture, trade and commerce excluded from the social help which they needed, even though their need assumed a different form in view of the reaction of the capitalistic transformation of our economic life and the altered occupational conditions of the population. Agrarian reform and the middle class reform, the promotion of agriculture and of the middle class bore these time-honored employments which had been relegated to a place of minority and were oppressed by the superior competition of large scale

commerce and industry essentially uninjured from the old into the new age, and secured for their members a proper share of the economic and cultural rise. The advance of the social idea found another marked expression in the Prussian tax reform, especially in the progressive income tax based on personal valuation, which soon entered triumphantly into every state of the Empire; which, however, not to mention others, experienced such strikingly obstinate opposition in France. Viewed from another aspect, we discern the fruitful results of the social idea in the reform of the public solicitude of the poor, and in the reform of public charity which has been so greatly relieved in virtue of the workingmen's insurance, that it was enabled to widen its scope and aims. As in the case of the workingmen's insurance, a new fruitful field was discovered in the positive uplift of the fallen and in the prevention of harm. From the reformed methods of caring for neglected youths, the governments made the decisive step towards a public organization of juvenile welfare work, of physical and moral development of the entire male and female youth from the time when they leave the elementary school to their twentieth year when the young men enter the army. Church and school, officials and social societies, denominational societies for young men and neutral societies for popular and juvenile sport and amusement,—all were engaged in this work; thus the organization was introduced by the authorities into the smallest community. It was a new step of the most far-reaching consequences, a proof of the social and cultural vision and energetic will to accomplish something thorough in the development of the physical and ethical health of the nation by commencing with the youths of both sexes at the early time when they are on the point of entering their occupational career. At the same time, the extension of advanced schools for the male and female youths was undertaken in city and country; and, in order thereby to advance the general and vocational training, there was added the education for civic and domestic service, and the education of the individual personality for the discharge of the ethical functions of life. Conjointly with all these endeavors of reform, the entire body of governmental and communal officials was enlisted in the service of social and cultural endeavor. The task which the social kingdom had undertaken to accomplish, became the common good and mission of all its representatives and helpers. The serious manner in which this task was assumed is demonstrated by the establishment of numerous courses in social science and of higher schools exclusively devoted to instruction in communal and social administration, in which schools the officials are the hearers.

The *communities,* especially the cities, could not neglect to follow the example of the Empire and of the different states in the fulfillment

of social obligations. What in former times and in accordance with ancient conceptions had been entrusted to pious foundations and to charitable institutions of individuals or of ecclesiastical and humanitarian associations, because the sources of revenue and other incomes of the communities had not furnished adequate means, the communities now began with greater or lesser clearness to realize as their solemn obligation to their inhabitants, and they acted accordingly. An ever increasing part of the municipal funds was set aside for this purpose. The ancient municipal housing regulations, speaking almost exclusively of safety, were now, in the spirit of sanitary solicitude, of aesthetic enjoyment of the city, or delight in expressing exteriorly the growing prosperity of the citizens, widened so as to include regulations outlining the location and architecture of buildings, promoting a sane property policy and the system of small habitations, and of supervision and enhancement of dwellings. The imparting of domestic science to the girls in the elementary schools and in free domestic science courses is making progress in city and country. Families are encouraged to plant gardens, public libraries are erected or encouraged, and many other endeavors in behalf of popular education are widely promoted. In many instances the surface was at first not penetrated, and in consequence the scope of the activities was very limited. And yet, what a number of good and beautiful projects have been undertaken so far, or bid well to bring to a successful issue their present fight against opposing interests! Beside the wealth of literature descriptive of the political and municipal life, the municipal expositions demonstrate that the spirit has once more been quickened which in the past developed such a rich cultural life in the medieval cities. How grateful the Germans must be to a benevolent destiny, that the reconstruction of their fatherland after the War of Liberation was fundamentally based upon the granting of genuine German self-government to the communities! Hence they have learned, in city and country, to engage a constantly growing number of the citizens of all classes as honorary coöperators in the interests of general welfare. For this reason, too, the communities promoted with a particular zeal all useful associations and institutions which were constituted by the citizens, for the cultivation of the higher standard of life and of a more ethical life. Ever and anon Church and community had to come in touch with each other, since the former, equipped with its numerous charitable and social institutions and organizations for welfare work, had preceded the latter in many instances. The more comprehensive the activities of the Church were, and the more she sought to coöperate with the entire work, the greater became the willingness of the communities to consider the peculiar nature of the Church's works, to have due regard for religious needs,

and to assign an honorary role to the representatives of the Church. The Catholics not only did not refuse to coöperate with others, but they have welcomed it as an opportunity of fulfilling the divine mandate of the love of neighbor; they have seized with gratitude every occasion, by their careful collaboration in public affairs to comply with the law of Christ. They have availed themselves of these opportunities, moreover, for the purpose of winning recognition for themselves and recognition and respect for the Church on the part of the whole nation, not through fruitless rhetoric and programs, but through practical work that is in harmony with Catholic truth and is characteristic of Catholic power.

The plainest proof of the fact, however, that the social reform has found sympathy with the broad strata of the leading circles of Germany, is furnished by a survey of the numberless institutions and associations active in the *voluntary cultivation of popular welfare* (Volkswohlfahrtspflege), of which every larger German exposition, and in no less degree the great number of periodicals published by these associations furnish striking testimony. There is scarcely a large economic undertaking which does not make it a matter of honor to found one or another welfare institution for the care of health, morality, family life, or education. And especially in the cities, it will be difficult to find citizens of means, who do not tax themselves for the one or the other institution, often for many.

The second great effect of the German social legislation on the nation,—we mean the arousing and education of the nation to social and cultural self-activity,—expresses itself most significantly in the development of *the occupational organizations* (Berufsorganisationen), which proceeds with elemental force, above all, by making them more and more a means of education for the members of the class. State legislation and organized self-help are regarded by the Germans as the two legs on which the social reform advances. They expect more from the latter than from the former; especially the new class of workers and employes does so. In many cases, the organizations were originally intended as a protection against economic pressure by means of counter-measures of the organized representation of common interests; protection of rights and mutual help were gradually added. Formerly, the employer was the guardian of the agricultural and industrial laborer. At present, under the regime of the free labor contract, the laborer has lost this foundation of security. State protection and reliance upon his co-workers are now his protection, especially when he changes either place or location. Soon the further task of cultivating the vocational abilities of the members of the labor unions through instruction and schooling presented itself. The impulse of political influence in state and community, which made itself felt there-

after, of co-administration of the institutions introduced by social legislation, of participation in the works of welfare, referred the workers to a special obligation of political and social training, since they were compelled as a new occupational group to win first for themselves the equal right in society. The final aim of all industrial and political endeavors, however, which was formulated as a greater participation of the powerfully augmented cultural values was, as they soon discerned, possible of attainment only through the personal and active appropriation of them by the instruction and education of the individual members of the class, of their families, and of the class as an entirety. Individualism which atomizes society and dissolves it from within, is not broken by social legislation, nor even by the labor unions; it is overcome primarily by admission of the elementary truth that society, as an organism endowed with vital energies, builds itself up on the vocational groups with their characteristic cultural life. For, the individual life of man has its roots in his calling; in vocational labor it receives ethical content of life and healthful complexion; vocational labor is moral duty and, for the Christian, divine service; it unites him most strongly with society, and endows his personality with social value. Thus, there originates a vocational consciousness; and he feels himself united with those who pursue the same occupation, and ultimately with the nation at large. This again directs his attention to the peculiarity and the particular value of the vocation. Not only do the material interests of its members find satisfaction in it; nor is the ethical duty of labor alone realized in it: but, above all, the intellectual, moral and temperamental life atmosphere must enclose about it, in order to be conformed to the thought and feeling of its members, and to be able to impart to them external comfort and internal satisfaction,—a circle of life which the individual and the vocational group ever and anon fructify, and whence, in turn, countless imponderable forces radiate. As the child, as man and woman, in as far as they are individual personalities, discover their warm circle of life in the family, so they who are united by the same vocation or the same state of life, must discover it in the culture peculiar to their state, into which they must grow as the bird into its plumes and the snail into its shell. There alone it is possible for the individual to feel at home, and to find a happy and strong self-satisfaction, as a human being and a Christian; but if, on the contrary, he seeks to find it primarily, or exclusively, in civil society or in the state, which will remain strange to him to a great degree, he will always remain unsatisfied. The liberalistic and socialistic doctrines of society have overlooked and disregarded this truth of the natural law. The result was a lame and anaemic popular culture and embittered radicalism. The old classes of the peasantry and the trades-

men, once the liberal era was overthrown, were the first again to cultivate such a consciousness of their station and the spirit of common interests in their vocational organizations by an appeal to the doctrines and motives of the Christian philosophy. The German legislation pertaining to the trades and crafts imposed on the trade unions the cultivation of the formative forces of vocational classes; the Catholic occupational societies, especially the societies of journeymen and of workingmen (the former already since the middle of the last century), have obliged themselves to foster such genuinely religious vocational culture; it has subsequently been adopted by all the remaining Catholic vocational associations and, in the nineties, also by the Christian unions. The People's Society (Volksverein) of Catholic Germany has, since twenty-five years, labored to this same end among its 800,000 members of all classes. The labors in behalf of social training and education of the Catholic workingmen's and journeymen's societies, at whose side the Protestant societies, the Christian labor unions and other national unions march conjointly,—all united in the Christian national labor movement which counts a million and a half workers,—by seeking the cultural enrichment of the individual personality of the laborer, of his family, and his organization, endeavor to construct a self-sufficient philosophy of life for the workers, with the object in view of introducing a new state or class into society, a richly endowed member which will bestow much upon society, and which in exchange expects to become invigorated by the full stream of life which pulsates through the other and older classes. In this manner, it seeks to make real and actual the legally long admitted equality of the workers. By means of the vocational culture do the social Catholics of Germany and their coöperators in other camps finally hope to overcome the doctrinaire liberalism and socialism. If socialism, in its ultimate analysis, is the expression of despair which has seized the worker's soul, due to the degenerate condition of his existence in the midst of a society revelling in the wealth of mightily increased economic forces and cultural goods,—as we have described this degradation above, —then it is necessary to make the laborer feel free and comfortable by free, vital and distinguished development of his own capacities in the warm life atmosphere of an appropriate and satisfying vocational culture.

All this cultural labor,—and with this we return to the passionate charges of the French indictment,—is not the work of a Catholic group isolated from the life of the people or the nation; but it is the work of the German nation, of its civil authority, its communities, its free social organizations, the common work of Catholics and Protestants. To a great extent already the socialist masses have been included in it by their labor for contemporary improvements. And as their internal

development is not to be judged according to the doctrinal theories of a minority of dogmatic book learned scholars; as German Catholicism cannot be judged according to the actions of certain "Integral" circles whose impotence to produce fruitful work is just as great as their preposterousness in the passing of judgment on the ecclesiastical correctness of the active Catholics,—*just so little are the impelling forces of the social and cultural life in Germany enumerated* by quoting the remarks of some extravagants to whom those charges appeal, thereby imitating a bad journalistic practice of incrimination. The influence of the cited crown witnesses on the spiritual life of Germany has been estimated in another place of this work. In the social labor, briefly described by us, we encounter their anti-Catholic and anti-Christian influence nowhere; in fact, they have in no instance interested themselves in behalf of this work. Those non-Catholics, on the contrary, who have labored efficiently in the cause of social reform for three decades, coöperated with the Catholics almost everywhere; in many instances, they were influenced by the Catholic social thought and action, and repeatedly have paid a glowing tribute of acknowledgment to the achievements of Catholic social action. The social legislation of the German Empire has been from the beginning, and still is, subject to the leadership of the Center Party which follows the program of Leo XIII. and Bishop von Ketteler even to the present day. The Christian national laboringmen realize that the Catholics are their strongest contingents and furnish the ablest leaders. Who in Germany could have experienced greater joy than the Catholics at the social messages of Emperor William I. and Emperor William II., whose pronouncements were confirmed by the social program of Leo XIII? In what country did the Catholics find such great possibilities to participate so extensively and intensively in the social evolution of an entire nation, commencing with its legislation and inclusive of the farthest off schools of voluntary welfare work, as in Germany where they constitute only a minority and where they must engage in such violent intellectual struggles? But the German Catholics have with courage taken up these intellectual battles, and carry them on to this day, and in this they were the more successful because, after the example of the first Christians in the Roman Empire, they not only produce apologists in word and literature, but effectually unfold the living forces of the Catholic religion, not only in their own narrow ranks where today they have gathered and train approximately two millions of Catholics of both sexes, young and old, in their Catholic organizations,—but throughout God's wide world, humbly, it is true, but also in the full understanding of Catholic thought which makes them regard it their solemn duty to enlighten not only their own Catholic coreligionists, but also those of

different belief. Coöperating thus with the plans of Providence for their fatherland, they became the associates of all who endeavored to promote the good, even though their ideas and intentions were different. In the common elaboration of the social culture of the nation, the Catholics had naught to fear from the competition of others, and were also permitted to hope that by their coöperation they might clarify and realize the good offered by others. Thus they became one of the strongest allies of the social kingdom, of the socially thinking governments, of the citizens' parties. In no less degree they became allied with the socially active Evangelicals: thus there arose the powerful Christian National Labor Movement which was founded upon the Catholic laboringmen's societies, and whose influence extends to the very doors of the organized socialists. In the German agrarian and middle class movement, non-Catholics never refrain from generously emphasizing the fact that those movements would not have been born, nor continued as they are doing, without the aid of the Catholic membership. And wherever the governments undertake popular cultivation and education, it is now the rule,—in contrast to the past times of the "Kulturkampf,"—that they also enlist the services of the Catholic Church and her denominational societies for social education and enlightenment, assign them an honored place, and are anxiously desirous of preventing any injury of these organizations and of their peculiar activity. Abstracting from social democratic and free thinking bigots, the social and cultural activity of the German Catholics is, throughout Germany, spoken of today in terms of toleration and respect. It is this very activity which most efficaciously removes the traditional prejudices among the non-Catholics.

No, the German Catholics are everything else but "swept politically and socially into the stream of an (un-Christian) Germanism" which has "lulled them to sleep, and then subjected them to its tyranny." And Germany is everything else but "the home of a new social Anarchism." The German social democracy which once lived in the hope that Germany of necessity would develop into atheistic and revolutionary socialism, acknowledges today,—in the altercations which during the war it carries on with a small opposition of utopists,—that it is bound up with its German fatherland for victory or defeat. In this manner, and due to painstaking labors, life has triumphed over the negation. Germany, indefatigably laboring, in its empire, in its governments and parliaments, in its denominations, in its denominational and civic social organizations and welfare institutions, in the interest of a new social national culture, has struck out for itself different paths than the paths which impractical doctrinaires, the one-time protagonists of the "Kulturkampf," the sporadic worshippers of Wotan, the group which fostered the "Away-

from-Rome" movement, the followers of Nietzsche, and the so-called Amoralists wished her to travel. We do not meet them at all where the work of social progress is carried on. But they who serve the people by their social labors think in solemn ethical consciousness the same thought which their two Emperors thought who declared in their social messages that, "led by the spirit of Christian morality," they "wished to prove their solicitude in behalf of the economically weaker part of the nation." In the entire German Empire, it is not possible that there be a prince, or statesman, or government official, or head of a community, who would dare to express himself against the Christian character of the German state system. In other countries this is different. Outside of the social democracy, there is not one neutral social organization of name in Germany, of which it may be feared that it may proclaim anti-Christian purposes, or refuse or render impossible the right of coöperation to believers of positive Christianity. Thanks to the coöperation of Catholics above all, the social reform in Germany is too manifoldly and deeply animated by the spirit of Christianity as that they, who have become the victims of religious skepticism and oppose the believing Christians in their religious controversies, could withhold their respectful recognition of the social labors and the social sense of the Catholics. The French indictment strongly emphasizes the predominance of Protestantism in Germany; and thereby it indicates the question as to whether the Catholics, instead of such a Protestant majority, would not prefer to have as their opponents a crushing majority, which at least in statistics passes as Catholics, such as the believing Catholics are confronted with in France. To this the German Catholics, in the light of present day experience, reply unanimously in the negative, and they are most emphatic in the denial of such preference. They do so in virtue of the recognized standing and the far-reaching influence which they enjoy in the nation, and which the Protestant majority has accorded to the German Catholics in virtue of their achievements in behalf of the national life. And lastly, may we not remind our Catholic brethren in France, who unfortunately are so extensively excluded from all public life, that above all others they lack the competence to condemn the culture of Germany, although this country is almost two-thirds Protestant, as an anti-Catholic and anti-Christian civilization?

18. Ideal Humanity Interpreted in German Thought and Art.

By Professor Karl *Muth*, Munich

THE Declaration of the Rights of Man has ushered into the world a new era of humanity and civilization." Such is the boast of the French Revolution. Germany at the time was hardly as yet a well-knit political unit, but it initiated an intellectual revolution of supreme significance. Judged by its effects, this German movement contrasts with the French as internal contrasts with external Freedom. It has its deepest mainspring in a keen sense that whatever frees man of outward restraint, but fails to give him control of his inner self, spells ruin for him. True culture is elaborated from within. The grasp of this truth and the resulting contrasts between the two movements reveal the fundamental difference between *French Civilization* and *Deutsche Kultur*.

The difference just stated is felt even in these days loud "with war-like sound of trumpets". Nor is any reconciliation between the two worlds in sight unless the terms *Kultur* and *Civilization* are clearly understood.

In the usage of the Latin peoples, to begin with, culture and civilization are no contrary terms. Here the difference is mainly one of extension, civilization being a wider notion than culture. To the Latin mind, therefore, culture without civilization is a barely intelligible conception.

The Germans keep the two things apart. They have, for instance, somewhat of a contempt for a people civilized, but lacking a distinctive culture. Civilization, they hold, can be taught, propagated, and even forced upon a nation; culture, as the happy crown of personal toil, national tradition, and inbred character, can only be acquired from within. If culture is to result, the faculties of *the whole man* must coöperate; civilization, on the contrary, springs from the head, is crystallized into maxims and disseminated by instruction. Culture, even under a savage exterior, still guarantees internal worth; civilization, on the contrary, is often merely a splendid cloak concealing internal corruption, or a pleasant manner which hides a savage nature. While civilization is a matter of

custom, of convention rooted in rational principles, in a word, of good breeding and refinement of life, culture is a piece of personality, is self-discipline, and an ever-renewed realization of a chastened interior. Culture, Religion, and Art form therefore a trio of achievements as naturally akin as Civilization, Politics and Science. For, politics and science, too, may, in their conditions as well as in their results, be imparted and propagated by teaching. The spread of religion and art, on the contrary, presupposes internal acquisition; without such growth from within they remain rootless and fruitless. There is indeed a German, an English, a French culture, but to speak of a *European Culture* is absurd. The term *European Civilization,* on the contrary, is in place whenever meant to embrace the principles common to the nations of Europe of political liberty and intellectual enlightenment. The peoples in the western portion of Europe love to take credit to themselves for enriching the world with the blessings of the *European Spirit.* They are making a large claim for themselves. And, indeed, the internal worth of that spirit offers the least foundation for such a boast. The result in cases of this kind will often be something like what Mirabeau erroneously attributed to the Prussian state under Frederick the Great: *pourriture avant maturité: decay before maturity.* There is such a thing as cultureless civilization or civilization in conflict with true culture. Civilization of this brand is bound to result whenever the liberation of the spirits fails to keep equal pace with the formation of character and of those intimate social ties which are the fruit of a people's deep-seated and long-developed culture.

The German notion of culture is no new invention. If the term Kultur be recent, the thing designated by it could not help appearing at an early stage of the development, and mould the character, of a nation whose ideals are essentially rooted in morality. Our conception of culture at bottom continues the Greek *Kalokagathy* or Beauty-linked-with-Goodness. But it broadens and deepens that ideal into the still more perfect trio of Beauty, Goodness and Truth. Medieval Germany was familiar with it under the name *mâze* or that classic well-poised moderation, the crown of all chivalrous education. It was reserved for German poetry of the 18th century, however, to seize upon the notion with all its sharpness of outline and embody it in works of perennial youth.

It is well-known how profoundly the German literary movement of the 18th century, both in its early beginnings with Herder and in its later stages under Schiller and Goethe, was influenced by the French revolution and Rousseau's fantastic dreams. The poetry of German medieval chivalry had drawn its themes from foreign lands, only to

deepen them and throw them into a specifically German mould. Just so, in the 18th century, the impulse indeed came from the French revolution; but because this impulse stirred the inmost depths of the German soul, it soon issued in the doom of the French enlightenment. The political and the social life of the German people were cleared of every vestige of the French revolutionary spirit. The cultural ideal of the second prime of our national literature, culminating in Schiller and Goethe, grew directly out of antagonism to the ideal of the revolution. It is looked upon to this day as the great goal of the future. If ever in the history of Europe the republican ideal is to work itself out fully; if ever its last and supreme demands are to find fulfilment, this consummation can only be brought about after the educational work of German thought and art is complete.

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"Beyond the Rhine all is ablaze and a-steaming. Beyond the ocean all is a-burning and sparkling. On this side alone—all is *aglow*."

Thus wrote Klopstock, who of all German poets and literary men was one of the first citizens of the French Republic. He has thus expressed the true mission which the Revolution forced upon the German genius. In the crucible of his mind he remelted the dull notions of a fancied millenium and refined them into the bright gold of an ideal worthy of the best efforts of man. Even several years before the Declaration of Rights of Man Schiller wrote his drama *Die Räuber (The Robbers)*. *In Tyrannos* was its motto. The poet himself tells that his purpose was "to dethrone vice and to avenge Religion, Law and Morality on their foes." Kant, Forster, Stolberg, Wieland and Herder welcomed with joy the great rising and new birth of the nations. The German spirit was drunk with high-flown idealism. An age of universal bliss seemed already come. There came a shock of rude awakening, however, and with impetuosity, as the idol had been embraced, it was now flung aside. With a passion for thinking, men of genius investigated the last and deepest causes of the failure of that Titanic monster beyond the border; they inquired what ways mankind must tread before it might receive the gift of perfect freedom without sustaining harm.

The masterpieces of German art and poetry are left us as the distillation of the thoughts and aspirations of those stirring times. Their vitality remains to this day unimpaired. Generation after generation is invited to experience in turn their rejuvenating effects. It is true of German, as of no other literature, that it is the outcome of fierce feuds between clashing *Weltanschauungen*. A war-won philosophy of life is here emblemed forth in forms of exquisite poetical beauty,—a philosophy clothed with the force of symbols and preserved and effectively propa-

gated like the sacred figures of mythology. Neither Corneille nor Racine, neither Molière nor Calderon nor Shakespeare[1] have so clearly and palpably stamped their creations with the seal of their gradually growing and unfolding minds as the great bards of our classic age. The deep sincerity of their quest of truth, their warmth of feeling and tenderness of *Gemüt* neutralize the chill of Rationalism and the Enlightenment. Not even Lessing is an exception to this. So *negative* a figure as Voltaire,[2] who occupies an all but central place in the pantheon of French literature, has no parallel even in the vestibule or side-aisles of the German hall of literary fame. Not even the skeptic tones of so cold a thinker as Lichtenberg can destroy the high serious purpose which knits his whole spiritual being together.

The effect of the French cataclysm on Germany differed altogether from that produced in other countries. In England politics dominate the public interest and so the Revolution was studied in its political and social aspects. In the Latin countries religious and historical reflections prevailed. Germany alone possessed the mind that, disregarding the transient and accidental causes, penetrated to the very heart of the mighty upheaval. Schiller undertook to explain why it was that so grandiose an enterprise as that

> "of at last honoring man as an end in himself and making true liberty the keystone of the commonwealth,"

or, in other words, why "the most perfect of all works of art," the rearing of a political structure on the broad basis of unlimited liberty, was doomed to failure. His answer may be summed up thus:

> Until man has awakened to the consciousness of his *whole* nature, he is unable either to use his liberty aright or to respect it in his fellow man.

Grouping his thoughts around this central theme, the poet anticipates the educational work of many centuries. His immortal letters "On the esthetic education of mankind" build up a philosophy of culture that reveals such deep-seated and almost religious faith in man's genius

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1 "Emerson's famous aphorism—'Shakespeare is the only biographer of Shakespeare'—seems . . . to rest on a profound misapprehension. An unquestionable characteristic of Shakespeare's art is its impersonality. The plain and positive references in the plays to Shakespeare's personal experiences . . . are rare and fragmentary, and nowhere else can we point with confidence to any autobiographic revelations. . . . The most psychological of English poets of no mean order, Robert Browning, bluntly declared that Shakespeare 'ne'er so little' at any point in his work 'left his bosom's gate ajar.' Even in the 'Sonnets' lyric emotion seems to Browning to be transfused by dramatic instinct."—**Sir Sidney Lee, A Life of William Shakespeare (New Edition, 1916), p. 633.**—Translator's Note.

2 Voltaire may be regarded as the Frenchman par excellence. Nietzsche, on the other hand, could never pass for a typical German, how much soever he is played off against us in "La Guerre Allemande et le Catholicisme." An esteemed French critic has this to say of Voltaire's affinity with the French national temper: "Il est beaucoup plus rare qu' on ne croit que les grands hommes de lettres soient l'expression du pays dont ils sont, et representent brillamment l'esprit de leur nation. Ni Corneille, ni Bossuet, ni Pascal, ni Racine, ni Rousseau, ni Chateaubriand, ni Lamartine ne me donnent l'idée, même agrandie, embellie, épurée, du Français, tel que je le vois et le connais . . . ils ne nous ressemblent guerre. Voltaire, lui, nous ressemble. L'esprit moyen de la France est en lui." **(Émile Faguet, Dix-huitième siècle. Études littéraires, Paris, 1894, 275.)**

and goodness as has probably never been conceived before. He soars aloft above a vast array of historical facts and crystallizes the eternal values of transient catastrophes into maxims of universal application. Then he bids the living generation look into the mirror of these maxims to see its degradation. He finds among his contemporaries only *the natural man (der Naturmensch)* who in his lawlessness abuses his free will, and *the artificial man (der künstliche Mensch)* who is as yet too sparing of his liberty. To furnish the former with liberal principles, he thinks, were a betrayal of the people as a whole; a fettering of the latter too easily degenerates into a tyranny over the individual. A brighter future is looming for mankind on two conditions, first, that the natural man elude the blind forces of nature, second, that the artificial man return to the simplicity, truth, and plenty of nature. The essence of all revolution is then sketched with a few masterful strokes:

> "Terrified by Liberty who in her first experiment invariably introduces herself as an enemy, one class of men will throw themselves headlong into the arms of a comfortable slavery; another, driven to despair by a pedantic paternalism, will take refuge in the unbridled licentiousness of the state of nature. Usurpation will plead in excuse the weakness, Insurrection the dignity, of man—until finally the great mistress of all human affairs, Blind Force, intervenes and settles the alleged dispute of principles as if she were settling a vulgar prize fight."

The solution of the problem, Schiller continues, is left neither to reason alone nor to the will alone nor, least of all, to blind force. Our age is enlightened, he says, but we have not on that account ceased to be barbarians. Barbarians we are and barbarians we remain so long as we permit principle to stifle feeling—precisely as it is the mark of the natural man or savage to let feeling run away with principle. A thought singularly original and rich in suggestions for a psychology of civilization is now developed, to-wit, that the hand Beauty leads us to Freedom. Beauty will shackle nature in the savage, but release it in the barbarian.

> "Your serious moral purpose will put Beauty to flight, while Beauty and Pastime may yet keep company. Her taste is chaster than her heart. Right there, then, through her heart, you must seize the coy fugitive. Her maxims you will assault in vain, in vain condemn her deeds; but on her idleness you may try your plastic hand. Banish arbitrariness, frivolity and brutality from her amusement, and you will likewise banish them from her action and eventually from her sentiment. Wherever you meet Beauty, array her in noble, in grand, in ingenious

forms. Invest her round about with the symbols of the Exquisite, until the semblance defeat the reality and art defeat nature."

It is one of the penalties of genius that for a long while its productions fail of appreciation or, worse still, meet with misinterpretation. Schiller's ideas on the esthetic education of mankind, at any rate, evoked shallow criticism. They were termed a despondent and fantastic flight into the realm of Beauty. They seemed to some sufficient ground for the belief that our classic literature is, in tendency, one-sidedly esthetic. Yet in truth they are a grandiose and ingenious attempt, through sheer force of rational and moral reasoning, to find the way to that State-to-come in which true Liberty and ideal Humanity shall mount the common throne. In form, they are Schiller's own, in content, they are common to his age. And, indeed, one may say that the bulk of German art and poetry is instinct with the thought of a better state in which human perfection shall come fully into possession of its kingdom. Of this happy future, our literature is an anticipated reflection. Of all the literatures in the world, the German is the least narrow, the least purely national—unless precisely its tendency to grapple with the big problems of mankind and its treatment of them with that devotion and faith in life so typically German be put down as its distinctively national characteristic.

Take for example the French classic poetry of the 17th century. Here the fundamental sentiments of generosity, decency, respectability, bravery, ambition, and love of fame receive a lucid expression in words and characters. But then, it is always that limited age with its narrow vision of a court-bred civilization that dominates the whole—an age, by the way, that poses as a climax in the development of the race. In Spain, the broad human interest is mingled with the specifically Spanish notion of honor and chivalry. It is impossible thoroughly to enjoy even the greatest Spanish poetry or do full justice to it without some knowledge of history.[3] In a similar way, national affinities affect the English poetical outlook. English poetry is not only intensely busy with the immediate realities of life, but from the circumstance of the age[4] is of necessity limited in range of thought. Even the Bard of Avon was a child of his

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[3] "In the case of America we are confronted by a similar dilemma. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century this country has been, in a peculiar sense, the home of idealism; but our literature has remained through long periods thin and provincial, barren in cosmopolitan significance; and the hard fact faces us today that only three or four of our writers have aroused any strong interest in the cultivated readers of continental Europe. Evidently, then, either the torch of American idealism does not burn as brightly as we think, or else our writers, with but few exceptions, have not hitherto possesessed the height and reach and grasp to hold up the torch so that the world could see it." Professor Bliss Perry in American Idealism. (Riverside Literature Series, p. 42).—Translator's Note.

[4] Much of English literature is Puritan in mood and, in so far forth, fails to voice absolute and universal human experience. Professor Bliss Perry, in American Idealism, gives an interesting illustration of the effect of Puritanism on American (and English) literature (pp. 58-63).—Translator's Note.

times.[5] Hence the English genius has voiced indeed the Eternal and Imperishable in human experience, but was barred from taking the highest flights to the most distant goals.[6] The *Divina Commedia* is the only great poem to unroll the destiny of man in symbols grand and eternal. But then, Dante enlists our sympathy for the *individual* soul whose chastisement, cleansing and bliss he limns so vividly. Here our eye rests on humanity in little. Mankind was not yet torn by those gigantic conflicts which a vast revolt from religious authority has since kindled, nor yet delirious with the cup of liberty or drenched with an insatiable craving for enfranchisement. A later day shook it to its foundations. Colossal religious wars and huge political disturbances threw new ideals out upon the world. It was now the privilege of German poetry (whose second prime has been more recent than any other) to clarify men's aims and purposes and glorify them with the glow of imagination. Our second classic period was not, as with some other nations, the last flicker of a dying civilization; it was the promising start, the *second spring* of a fresh development. The age which brought our second bloom had nothing, it is true, of the brilliance of the English Renaissance or the French Absolutism; it was far from adding new forces to the spiritual life of the nation; it was unable to refill the worn-out shell of national aspirations with a more substantial kernel; it was restricted in its sphere of activity, just as political life in Germany was jejune and meagre. "Germany is nothing," said Goethe of his times, "but every German is much." Yet, what the German of the 18th century did not see with his eye, he created for his spirit in his works of art. If his present was petty, his future was great in anticipation. He became the prophet of the human race. All that ever stirred the heart of men in any relation of life he gathered within his single breast. His poetry is the most ecumenical, not only because it expresses the aspirations of man-

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[5] One is reminded of Carlyle's criticism of Shakespeare's writings (in his lecture **The Hero as Poet**): "All his works seem, comparatively speaking, cursory, imperfect, written under cramping circumstances; giving only here and there a note of the full utterance of the man. Passages there are that come upon you like splendour out of Heaven; bursts of radiance, illuminating the very heart of the thing; you say, 'That is true, spoken once and forever; wheresoever and whensoever there is an open human soul, that will be recognised as true.' Such bursts, however, make us feel that the surrounding matter is not radiant; that it is, in part, temporary, conventional. Alas, Shakespeare had to write for the Globe Playhouse: **his great soul had to crush itself, as it could, into that and no other mould.**"—Translator's Note.

Speaking of the foreign and domestic influences and affinities traceable in Shakespeare's works, Sir Sidney Lee (p. 634) says. "His national affinities lie on the surface. A love of his own country and a confident faith in its destiny find exalted expression in his work. Especially did he interpret to perfection the humour peculiar to his race. His drama was cast in a mould which English predecessors had invented. But he is free of all taint of insularity." —Translator's Note.

[6] Needless to say, there is not the slightest intention, on the part of Professor Muth, of denying to Shakespeare poetic genius of the very first order. German literary critics have ever been in the van of admirers of the world's greatest dramatist. "In Germany the poet has received for more than a century and a half a recognition scarcely less pronounced than that accorded him in his own country." Sir Sidney Lee, ib. p. 610.

The following quotation from Goethe, king of the German romantic movement, is significant of the German attitude of mind: "The first page of Shakespeare that I read made me his for life; and when I had finished a single play, I stood like one born blind on whom a miraculous hand bestows sight in a moment." (Quoted in J. C. Adam's edition of Carlyle's Lectures on Heroes.)

"Unwavering veneration of his achievement became a first article in the creed of German romanticism."—Sir Sidney Lee, ib. p. 613.—Translator's Note.

kind, but because it expresses them in symbols familiar to the nations of the world.

There was question of saving the Antique for mankind. Winkelmann and Lessing were the first on the scene to rescue its interpretation from the pedantry of national prejudice. Since then, the German has strengthened and matured his intimate understanding of human nature. His conception of the Antique has kept the eyes of the world fixed upon the undying meaning and value of the Greek and Roman classics. He has looked into the inmost souls of other nations as well, from the remote past down to the present day. Where has another people ever produced men and poets so unbiased as to take over figures from the history of nations with which it was at war, and make them the subjects of their poetry with that same majestic grandeur and sympathy that characterize Schiller's treatment of the heroine in his *Jungfrau von Orléans?*[7] At a time when her country poured out the vials of abuse and satire upon the noble maid, the German poet invested the heroine of Domremy with all the charms of his art and lifted her to a permanent place in the art and consciousness of the world.

"To mar the noble face of *humankind,*
Derision dragged *thee* to the vilest dust."

So sang Schiller. And what has French poetry done meanwhile to atone for Voltaire's outrage?

Here German poetry has clearly championed the cause of ideal humanity. Nor is this a solitary instance. It might seem delicate for a Catholic at this stage of our enquiry to call attention to such works of our literature as drew their inspiration from the religious wars of Spain, the Netherlands, and England, and from the history of the German people. It is but fair, however, to observe that, although the themes are steeped in party-feeling, the broadly human interest prevails. It lies closer to the heart of our poets than their obvious interest in the so-called Reformation. To them, the struggle of the Reformation is a struggle of *humanity* against the absolutism of the state and the suppression of free thought. Or is it without significance when, in Marquis Posa's interview with Philip, Schiller makes a Catholic ("Your faith, dear Sir, is also mine") utter the words: "Grant freedom of thought!"? And when the Marquis tells the King what he has seen in the northern crown lands before he returned to Spain, what is it that shocks him most?

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7 What La Pucelle owes to German poetry besides Schiller's noble tribute, is explained by no less a writer than Georges Goyau: "De Schiller à Auguste-Guillaume Schlegel, de Schlegel à Guido Goerres, de Guido Goerres à Charles Hase, de Charles Hase à Herrmann Semmig, l'Allemagne semble affecter une sorte de coquetterie à l'endroit de la Pucelle; et cette coquetterie, parfois, dans l'expression dont elle se pare, devient presque offensante pour nous. Si la France pouvait être accusée d'oublier Jeanne, l'Allemagne serait là, pour la célébrer; si quelque Français diffame Jeanne, l'Allemagne surgit comme chevalier" (Jeanne d'Arc devant l'opinion allemande. Paris 1907, 76.)

"When recently I fared to Flanders and Brabant,
How many rich and blooming provinces I saw!
What great and sturdy people I beheld!
Good people, too! And to be father to this race—
Why, thought I, that must be divine! When lo,
I chance upon a heap of charrèd bones of men."

Here as elsewhere, the driving force is the humanistic ideal. There is no denying that this humanism is detached from its native soil, Christianity; but then, it was incapable of understanding Christianity, rather than hostile to it. An all too imperfect practice of religion had engendered and, in the course of ages, deepened prejudices which lay like a cloud upon men's spiritual vision. It was only in rare and inspired moments that the intuition of genius pierced the cloud and got a glimpse of the Truth unveiled. For all that, its ingrained purity and high moral purpose make this poetry a vestibule of Christianity,[8] a training-school for greater and sublimer tasks, and to him that can look beneath the surface and penetrate to the essence of things, it may, in spite of its intellectual wanderings, prove even a *pedagogue unto Christ.*

A favorite conceit, which embodied the wishes and aspirations of the belles-lettres of this time, was that of *the beautiful soul (die schöne Seele).* To Schiller we owe a theory of it, while Goethe gave it a plastic expression.

The term itself is not new. But, as has happened more than once, German thought has informed it with a new meaning. Schiller's conception of the beautiful soul is essentially deeper than Rousseau's *belle âme,* so-called after the analogy of *bel esprit (Schöngeist).* It was he that put life into the term and gave it the force of a concrete human ideal. A beautiful soul is not a man good by nature; for, the naturally good man is a figment of the French "parlor-savage." A beautiful soul

> "is a person in whom the moral sense has mastered feeling to such an extent that henceforth feeling may guide the will without fear of clashing with the moral sense."

Schiller means what the science of Christian perfection understands by the permanent habit, resulting from the continual practice, of virtue. This habit facilitates the exercise, without destroying the merit, of virtuous action. Or in the words of Schiller:

> "In a beautiful soul, not the individual *action,* but the whole *character* of the person is steeped in morality."

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8 In a similar strain Carlyle writes of Shakespeare: "Is it not a right glorious thing, and set of things, this that Shakespeare has brought us? For myself, I feel that there is actually a kind of sacredness in the fact of such a man being sent into this Earth. Is he not an eye to us all; a blessed heaven-sent Bringer of Light?" (The Hero as Poet).—Translator's Note.

The idea of the beautiful soul has since been kept alive in German poetry and art. Not a few poets have followed the lead of Jean Paul and made effort after effort to endow the beautiful soul with a beautiful literary expression. For, in the words of Jean Paul,

> "to delineate a beautiful soul is to give the world a *saint* and to make saints."

Such visualizing of exalted reality is a surer standard of moral worth and of the height to which the training to character has attained than anything else that may be said in praise of a people. Whether we study Goethe's *Iphigenie* or *Tasso,* peruse the poem *Hermann und Dorothea* or the romance *Wilhelm Meister,* turn to some of the characters in Wieland or to the poems of Hölderlin or Novalis or, to come down to recent times, Richard Wagner, everywhere attractive specimens of humanity engage our sympathy; everywhere we find the nobility of free and broad and liberal education extolled as the goal of human culture. Nevertheless, that individualistic fondness for variety—so characteristically German—asserts itself to the fullest extent. The characters of German poetry do not grow exclusively on the uniform and homogeneous soil of sheer abstraction. Many of them, as in Schiller, originate in the world of beauty; others again, as in Wieland, Lessing, and Goethe, in the world of morality, and, last though not least, in the world of religion. German, to a greater extent than any other modern literature, is saturated with religious and Christian, and even Catholic, sentiment, feeling and thought. The German romantic movement, in unveiled opposition to the French, has directly led to the re-introduction into art and poetry of the specifically Catholic view of life.[9] There is no objection at all if recent French criticism, in a spirit of genuine chauvinism, denies all dependence of French upon German romanticism. Aside from certain external formalities, both in the choice of subject matter and in the manner of poetic treatment, the two movements have really nothing in common. Above all, the French lacks that magnificent sweep and universal character of its sister movement, which, in this regard, walks in the footsteps of German classicism and lifts it to a still broader basis. Already Herder had intimated that

> "the divine in our people is its bent and bias to humanity."

Small wonder if our romanticists were still more profoundly under the spell of this conviction. With Goethe's appearance, the German ideal of liberal education freely swept the wide expanse of the world's literature. To be able to understand and appreciate *the best*—no matter when it was

[9] By way of contrast compare the discussion of French romanticism by l'Abbé L.-Cl. Delfour, in his book "Catholicisme et Romantisme" (Paris 1905), especially in the chapter entitled "Les Romantiques n'ont pas l'air chrétien."

said or done—has at all times appealed to the German as an eminent criterion of *Kultur*. As Goethe used to say:

> "Of merits whose worth we recognize, we have the *germ* in us."

He asks in another place:

> "Wherein does barbarism consist but in the inability to recognize the Excellent?"

This catholic striving for an education commensurate only with the purest and most unbounded receptibility of the human mind was carried to a new summit by the romantic poets of Germany. Beyond all other nations, the German knows itself to be free of *chauvinism*.[10] If at times we have shut our doors to foreign influences, it was principally in the hope of barring from the temple of our poetry the inrush of the morally Inferior and Debased, such as Italian salaciousness and French dramatic productions which glorify adultery. Already Goethe and Schiller had taken pains to translate some of the notable works of the French and other literatures. But now Romanticism kindled a veritable spirit of rivalry in appropriating the flower of the world's poetry in such beautiful forms as to make it a permanent possession of our own. In this way we came by a translation of Shakespeare not far inferior to the original.[11] Moreover a Shakespearean literature sprang up both vaster and deeper[12] than that of the poet's native country. The contribution of German criticism and scholarship towards a better appreciation of Molière's art is no less significant—to say nothing of the notable German imitations of great, and even middling works of Spanish and Italian poets. Already in Herder's day it was believed that

> "the history of literature, as a study of the soul of a nation, is of greater value than the record of its political and military achievements."

German Romanticism and the movement following in its wake undertook vigorously to translate this belief into action, to such an extent that here and there apprehensions were entertained and fears expressed lest this centrifugal tendency to expansion hurt the national character. But in the heyday of classicism, in spite of Herder's battle cry,

> "Let German speech and spirit not be crushed by the Latin spirit and the Latin tongue,"

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10 "To have a generous belief in the greatness of one's country is no chauvinism." H. Tuttle, in Webster's Internat. Dictionary.—Translator's Note.

"German-speaking visitors to England carried home even in Shakespeare's lifetime copies of his works and those of his contemporaries." Sir Sidney Lee, ib. p. 611.—Translator's Note.

11 "Schlegel (in his metrical versions of Shakespeare's plays) reproduced the spirit of the original with such magical efficiency as to consummate Shakespeare's naturalisation in German poetry." Sir. Sidney Lee, ib. p. 614.—Translator's Note.

12 "Wordsworth in 1815 declared that Schlegel and his disciples first marked out the right road in aesthetic appreciation, and that they enjoyed at the moment superiority over all English aesthetic critics of Shakespeare."

In his edition of his Poems of 1815 Wordsworth wrote: "The Germans, only of foreign nations, are approaching towards a knowledge of what he (i. e. Shakespeare) is. In some respects they have acquired a superiority over the fellow-countrymen of the poet."—Translator's Note.

Humanism triumphed along the whole line. Neither will the boundles receptivity of the German mind hereafter permit limits to be impose upon it. The German character regrets to lose or leave unused even a pa ticle of culture once achieved. And be it said to the honor of foreign natio that they have not been insensible to our sympathy in their intellectu strugglings and strivings. They have responded with a sincere appreci tion of all that German literature means for the world at large. When a American, Archbishop Spalding,[13] says that "as poet and thinker of th first rank" Goethe is naturally "a teacher not only to his own nation bu to the world as well," he merely voices what in other countries countles others have felt and expressed in other ways. The most painful di appointments of the war have not been able to mar the German's delig in the masterpieces of foreign art and genius. To this day, the Germa trade disseminates foreign publications, German scholarship extends i researches to foreign works of art, the German theatre does its best, b means of first-class and carefully prepared performances, to pay tribu to the Imperishable in English, French, Russian, Italian, and Sca dinavian dramatic poetry. Our people have shown themselves matu enough to witness these presentations with the same reverence and em tion as those of the works of our own masters. If, in a comparison Kleist's *Amphitryon* with its original by Molière, the wonderful dep and moving power of the German drama move a German audience wi pride and satisfaction, surely our people may be pardoned for their love the inherited national temper.

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We feel we are not guilty of boastfulness if we here allude to Germa *music* as that art which, even more truly than German poetry, has co quered the world. The German has a singular capacity not surpassed any contemporary for music as the expression of universal human exper ences. Is not this another illustration of the catholicity of his mind Who that has ever felt that storm of sound and tone, the Ninth Sy phony, burst upon his spirit,—who that has ever felt his heart thr with that soul-stirring *Seid umschlungen, Millionen, diesen Ku der ganzen Welt,* can still doubt that a true and primitive feeling h here found its sublimest and surest expression? And as in this case, have Beethoven and with him the whole range of German music at a times walked the heights. Wherever German music is heard, it elici intelligent appreciation and evokes a generous response of love. And today no such response is forthcoming from a few individuals, that lo is rooted in a better past. This points to a more promising future. Ev

[13] Opportunities and other Essays and Addresses, Chicago, 1900.—German ed., Muni 1903, p. 153.

melody, as Wagner somewhere explains, has been emancipated by Beethoven from the whim of the hour and elevated to a type ideally human and therefore eternally valid. When General Bonaparte proclaimed himself emperor of France and drew the veil from his imperialistic dreams, Beethoven, in a fit of deep chagrin, cancelled the dedication of his Eroika Symphony to Napoleon. He wished with his art to help make the world happy, and not to help in its conquest. This wish will always be alive when the German expresses himself most deeply, as he does in music. In his music his soul is unbent and unhinged; there it overflows and pours itself out in streams of purest crystal. Not by the skill of its diplomacy, not by the force of its arms, but by its orphic power of music has Germany conquered the world. Our own days have seen in the triumphal progress of Wagnerian art the triumph of the German *Gemüt*. In fixing the aim and determining the function of a musical work of art, the master of Bayreuth harks back with full consciousness to Beethoven. He finds the foundation of his art in its power to express the general sense of mankind (*rein-menschliche Allgemeinsamkeit*), its aim in "artistic humanity" *(künstlerisches Menschentum)*, that is, in the redemption of the utilitarian of the present by the artistic man of the future *(die Erlösung des Nützlichkeitsmenschen in dem künstlerischen Menschen der Zukunft)*. Enlightened spirits in France are alive to Wagner's importance, even at the present hour. So eminent an artist as Vincent d'Indy has raised a protest against the frivolous attempt of tabooing Wagnerian art and banishing it from the republic. And well may he protest. Music is the most immediate and most intelligible form of speech in which, despite all divisions of politics and character, the souls of nations commune and understand one another.

But the worth of Wagner is, neither in our own nor in foreign estimate, exhausted by his music. It was he that opposed the "systematic corruption of the European spirit" and, with the charm of a redeemer, freed the nations from the nuisance of the opera, from the soul-killing, effeminating music of the baroque. If today we have in Germany the beginnings of a rational cultivation of the theatrical art, we owe this boon to Richard Wagner and his work of reformation. With us the current of sound tradition was never wholly cut off. The various medieval passion plays, of which the Oberammergauer Play has attained international fame, have had a vigorous afterbloom in the German-speaking countries. This fact alone testifies to the German habit of seeing in the theatrical art something exquisite. Indeed, in Germany theatricals have never wholly sunk into a purely social pastime. Our stage has at no time

been a favorite resort for low amusement[14] or the frivolous display
the ballet dancer. Whatever one may think of the intellectual enviro
ments out of which a work like the *Parsifal* has grown, the fact remai
that here Religion arm in arm with Art presents itself to the who
world arrayed in the highest forms of Catholic (Eucharistic) worshi
and thus turns the essentially Christian idea of God's world-redeemi
Love into a source of exquisite artistic edification. This fact is so uniqu
and startling that no other nation of modern times has a parallel
offer.

It is unfortunately true that German art and in particular Germa
theatricals have not escaped the baneful influence of a European civiliz
tion which the fashion of the hour has raised to a commanding positio
as life's unchallenged mistress. But let it be borne in mind that we a
not writing an apology of all and any conditions existing in Germa
at the present time. Our sole purpose is to point out the real and inmo
forces at work to influence not only the life within our borders but beyo
these narrow confines the life of the world. Precisely because Terence
Homo sum is so deeply rooted in our nature, we shall be all the wor
for the ravages of the *Zeitgeist*. Yet, where there is strife and conflic
there life is bound to be. Granted therefore that Germany is the hom
of specialized science and the land of one-sided scholarship; granted th
German *Criticism* fulfills its destructive mission in the history of t
human mind; still the German soul is ever struggling upward toward
universality. What we have been from the dawn of our history—
cosmopolitan race with potency to influence the world—that we are a
that we shall remain. Even our recent estrangement from that unive
salism, our falling back upon our nationality, our temporary denial
cosmopolitanism in favor of the narrower nationalism, all these thing
will not change our character. We have not in principle revolted fro
the humanism of our classic age. The 18th century has fixed the ai
and pointed out the direction in which our progress is to take place.
is now for us vigorously to employ the means of attaining the goal. Suc
an indispensable means we have found in our ideal of national educatio
As training to the full stature of humanity must pass through the ind
vidual, so training to cosmopolitan maturity must pass through the deve

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[14] This is abundantly proved by the enduring popularity on the German stage of su
high-class plays as Shakespeare's.

Speaking of the poet's lifetime, Sir Sidney Lee says (p. 610): "English actors who ma
professional tours through Germany at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of t
seventeenth centuries frequently performed plays by Shakespeare before German audiences."

This interest in Shakespeare has endured to this day: "Thirty-two of the thirty-sev
plays assigned to Shakespeare are now on recognised lists of German acting plays, including
the histories. In the year 1913 no fewer than 1,133 performances were given of 23 play
an average of three Shakespearean representations a day in the German-speaking regions
Europe. . . . In towns (like Altona, Breslau, etc., etc.) Shakespeare is acted constant
and the greater number of his dramas is regularly kept in rehearsal." Ib. p. 617.—Translator
Note.

opment of nationalism. A nation's character is merely the deepened, broadened, and elevated character of the individual.

Perhaps the eyes of France are upon us to see whether we shall dare in this enquiry to mention, *"the good European," Nietzsche.* Our enemies have made capital of this man. They have endeavored to prove that his works and ideas strike a deadly blow at the spiritual and intellectual life of the nation. They have in particular claimed that his creed is fatal to universal peace.

It is fact, however, that the philosopher of the *Superman* has been accepted with enthusiasm in France.[15] It is fact, again, that Frenchmen have jealously advanced proof after proof to show that the salient features of Nietzsche's philosophy have their origin in France.[16] This relieves us of the necessity of disowning the man as a *partie honteuse* of our literature. Let no one expect us, therefore, even to attempt to whitewash the greatest paradoxist that ever saw the sun or to twist him into a national, or in fact any other sort of, orthodoxist. We wish, however, to remind certain calumniators of Germany of the following confession of the poet-philosopher:

> "I cannot claim more than a mere share in what is typically German. Consider my name: my ancestors were Polish noblemen. Even the mother of my grandfather was a Pole."

If Nietzsche's character were analyzed, perhaps this "share" of German traits, which we conceive to consist in his unbounded intellectual honesty, would be found to be the very thing which gives his negative and destructive thought a healthful, fruitful turn to the Positive. His is the merit to have shown the utter folly of modern individualism as an absolutely one-sided experience. Nothing but shallow thinking and ignorance will lay stress on the most accidental cause of Nietzsche's influence, his gospel of might, and overlook the really essential factor in his power over the European attitude of mind. At the present moment, therefore, to try to come to an understanding or even to discuss such questions as these, is a waste of labor.

Today the world looks with admiration upon the triumphs of German persistence, upon the gains in culture arising from German scholarship, business, trade and industry—down to precision in the preparation of military undertakings. All these achievements are the outcome of the

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15 In England, "Carlyle was the herald of the Superman, oddly fixed in European consciousness as the figment of Nietzsche's brain." A. Henderson in Yale Review, April, 1916, p. 637.—Translator's Note.

16 "On sait la grande place occupée par Nietzsche, depuis une quinzaine d'années, en France. Traduite, commentée, tenue à jour, son oeuvre s'y est imposée, elle y rayonne." Aguste Dupouy, France et Allemagne. Littératures comparées, Paris 1913, 240. The same writer proves that in France, both before and during Nietzsche's lifetime, the chief tenets of his creed were not only taught but had found a complete incarnation in Napoleon, that redivivus professeur d'énergie, who never ceased to be la grande idole nationale. Voilà, comment de pures traditions françaises peuvent nous revenir, rajeunies par une sensibilité étrangère. (Ib. 245.)

visions of German poets and idealists. It is again Schiller that in prophetic spirit anticipated this ideal of *toil-bred culture.* He demand that the perfect man, endowed as he is with reason, work out even th physical side of his destiny with a single eye to duty, and strive afte harmony, system and freedom of scope when the common herd merel indulge their legitimate pleasure. He alone deserves to be styled *ein edl Gemüt* who with magic touch ennobles the petty and commonplace an changes the finite into something infinite. The following quotation significant:

> "Dost thou aspire to abiding worth?
> Dost thou thirst after baffling excellence?
> Turn, then, with leisure and untiring zeal,
> Thy *greatest effort* on the *smallest point.*"

Madame de Staël[17] was justified in her opinion that

> "the German needs system in action no less than freedom i thinking. The Frenchman, on the other hand, regards actio with the freedom of art and ideas with the slavery of habit."

Education is not directly concerned with art and poetry; still th three are inseparable. In Germany, education has learnt from art to f her eyes on the *whole.* Wherever she plies her task from a deep sense her calling, she aims at man as a whole. It is not hers to fit and dri him for this vocation or that. Her aim is to make a personality out him. Almost all our great poets were interested in educational pro lems or, as Jean Paul in his *Levana,* wrote on questions of pedagog And conversely, some of our pioneers in education, as Fröbel and Pest lozzi, were distinguished for their poetical *Gemüt. Before the prese war,* the merits of our educationists were generously recognized beyon the Rhine. The fact that the Fröbel method is in vogue in France an that French pedagogical journals take a lively interest in *le Kinderga ten*[18] is sufficient proof of this.

Germany, as well as England, is looking for "a place in the sun But our ambition is not rooted in a conceited belief that we are fit an destined to lord it over the globe. Our heart is not set on industrial su jugation or commercial supremacy. We simply have a keen inborn sen that mother nature has made us a many-sided and objective sort of fol We think we have a duty to ripen in ourselves a humanity that sha unite in harmony the several forces and faculties. A limited, self-ce tred, bigoted nationalism is foreign to our deeper character. The o 18th century humanism was born of veneration for the Antique and i

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17 De l'Allemagne. Nouvelle édition Garnier, Paris, p. 27.

18 Among the foremost champions of these ideas was the **Abbé Felix Klein,** Professor the Institut Catholique. His venomous article, after the outbreak of the war, in the Febru number of the "Revue des deux mondes" is in painful contrast with his activity of yesterd

renaissance in the fifteenth century. It kept, for a birthmark, a strong tinge of paganism. Just so is every form of narrow nationalism pagan in spirit. The idea of universalism, catholicity, and world-embracing solidarity is essentially Christian. There is a natural kinship, then, between Christianity and German universalism. The comprehension of this truth is winning ground among the truly enlightened spirits of Germany, in proportion as the German character is better understood. There truly lives in us an ancient yearning, which now in lower now in louder accents speaks, for Unity even in religious things. The thoughts and hopes of a Leibniz are destined to revive in forms changed with the changing times.

Of all nations the German has paid the heaviest toll to religious warfare. But as it has kept free from the trammels of a bigoted and narrow-minded national *spirit,* so it will yet triumph over the monstrosities of national *religions* and the chimera of a national *church.* Nature has endowed the German with a bent to the Universal which German poets, artists and thinkers have done their best to strengthen. Germany, politically beaten down for so long a time, poor, unfree Germany, the sport of a foreign whim, has in the realm of the spirit given the world more than one striking example of ideal uprisings. The last and greatest of them lies hidden in the womb of time. Just when Richard Wagner was wrestling most stoutly with the problem of the German character, the truth was borne in upon him that

> "none but a universal religion is true religion. Different *Confessions,* established by the law of the state and holding co-ordinate or subordinate positions by compacts with the government, in reality merely *confess* that Religion is in a process of decay."

This truth will win recognition, in proportion as the cosmopolitan horizon of the German people widens. National egoism, once again and with rare unanimity, rises up in this war against the world historic mission of the German spirit. But the assault will promote what it wants to crush. The inexorable logic of history is on our side. Once more Richard Wagner proved a seer when he said that *none but a free and cosmopolitan people (taking this term in its most peaceful acceptation) can be the worthy home and fertile soil of a universal church which, like the Catholic, is built upon internal freedom.*[19]

[19] Schriften und Dichtungen, X 42.

19. Our Religious Culture.

By Michael v. *Faulhaber*, Bishop of Speyer.

THE coarse charges of the "Comité Catholique" against the German Catholics are indirectly leveled against the German bishops. If charges such as these are true; if our fatherland is actually the home of every intellectual error conceivable; if it is really hell's exhaust of all godlessness from the cult of Wotan to Modernism, and the free-port of every universal current adverse to Church and culture; and if, instead of the bishops, the responsible keepers of faith and morals, guards of Zion from abroad must reveal this sad state of affairs,—then these charges by implication accuse also the bishops that they have neglected to remedy existing evils; that they failed to reclaim those who have strayed away. The French book is very positive in imputing to Germany, who in fact was forced into this war against a so-called Catholic nation, the premeditated intent of waging a war against religion. Thus it carries the clang of arms into the sanctuary of religion and thereby summons the German bishops before its tribunal as accomplices in the crimes of which Germany is accused. To the authors of the French indictment we cannot but apply the words which the German poet places in the mouths of the adversaries of the Maid of Orléans: "Thou bringest passionate discord and the harsh clank of steel into this vale unknowing of anything but peace hereto"—you carry discord into the sanctuary of faith, before whose altars peace ever found refuge, when roaring war was rampant without. The bishops are required to render a report of the religious and moral status of their respective dioceses to the Supreme Pontiff every five years. The German bishops with apostolic candor have always scorned the opposition modern civilization manifests against religion and Church, as well as the decline of faith and morals, and never called darkness light. However, in the year 1913, not long before the war, they could with a clear conscience assure the Holy Father of the genuine Catholic faith and the firm devotion to the Church evidenced by the Catholics throughout Germany. If, then, the charges of the Committee are true, if the religious and moral life of the German nation,—and therefore a priori the life of the German Catholics,—is thoroughly infected with Kantian and Protestant ideas (277): then it follows that

the German bishops in their official reports have not told the truth. The French indictment extending the vast arena of the World War to a new front, was brought with the approbation of two cardinals and nine bishops. But what is the result if the theses sustained in the French book do not stand the test of criticism? Will not proof of the unreliability of the bishops in historical and political matters also detract from their authority in religious matters, and will not the episcopal charge in general be affected thereby and suffer a loss of prestige and authenticity? The stones cast at the Germans and by that at the German Catholics, hit at the same time the German bishops, and it was nothing short of a sacred duty incumbent on the cardinals, the archbishops of Cologne and Munich, to remonstrate in behalf of the German episcopate, and later, on the bishops' conference at Fulda to protest against the defamation of the German name and repudiate a book[1] which will remain one of the saddest documents in the Church's history of the 20th century.

In times of peace there was active in Germany a small group of men who delighted in searching Jerusalem with lanterns, and who considered it the height of religious fervor to belittle the faith of their co-religionists. Pope Benedict XV. in his first Encyclical of November 1, 1914, set at rest those intrigues and established peace with these sovereign words: "No one shall assume to suspect the faith and devotion of others, merely because they are of different opinions. We furthermore desire that ours shall abstain from those designations which have begun to be used to distinguish Catholics from Catholics."[2] Thus the French Committee by its fundamental fallacy,—namely, that the Catholicism of the French Catholics differs essentially from that of the German Catholics,—revives again the old controversy, against the expressed wish of the Holy Father, and we cannot help but remark the same resemblance between their reasonings and arguments and those of the "Integralist" writers, as indeed exists between scorpion and scorpion.

It is not the German way to confirm charges and abuses of this kind in the eyes of neutrals by standing by in silence. Nor is it an offense against Christian charity to answer those who without proofs do us injustice and strike at us (John, 18, 22). Nothing is more foreign to my mind than the intent of maligning the reputation of another nation. But when my faith and my fatherland are made the objects of scurillous attacks, then surely I cannot be deprived of the right to raise my shield in defense. It is far from our intention to drag into the dust that which is noble and elevating in the religious life of France. But whilst we shall respect the latter we shall not thereby allow Ger-

1 The texts of the documents are given in the appendix.
2 Acta Apostolicae Sedis VI, 576 f., 641 f.

many's religious culture to be brought into disgrace and bad repute, and the war of nations to be branded as a conflict of culture (Kulturkampf). We do not repeat Geibel's saying that German nature shall restore the world; but we take most emphatic exception to Gaudeau's contention that all religious and social culture becomes contaminated by getting into contact with German nature (28f.). We do not follow the example of the pharisee who saw in himself nothing but virtues of the sublimest type and in the publican nothing but moral turpitude. What we endeavor to do is nothing more nor less than to contrast the *expression of religious culture in the French and German nations,* to exhibit the difference between reality and the caricature drawn by the French Committee—not, indeed, because we choose to do so, but because we are forced to do so in self-defense. *Tu l'as voulu, George Dandin!*

It is the mission of the religion of the Cross to teach all nations, to baptize and to gather them in a reign of the higher order where the sun never goes down. From this it follows that the kingdom of God cannot be circumscribed by the geographical limits of any one nation, nor so closely bound up with its destinies that it must rise and fall with its changing fortunes, with its victories and defeats. That which is inconquerable cannot be fettered to the conquerable existence of a nation. Even where a nation takes to itself the proud appellation, "eldest daughter of the Church," it does not by this act acquire exclusive possession of the mother, for the reason that prescription in no wise applies to religion. Barring the fact that mother's eldest daughter is frequently her greatest source of sorrow, it is to be borne in mind that in the testament of Jesus we find no rule of primogeniture, no exclusive individual feoffment of his kingdom. As the sun shines for all, so the truths of Christian faith in their fulness belong to all nations, and no nation can claim: I alone walk in the light. Like the ocean, the graces of our religion in their fulness belong to all nations, and no nation can claim: I alone draw from the wells of salvation. The ethical social ideas of Christianity, like the biblical narration of Jacob's ladder, are the common property of all nations and no nation can claim: I alone have reached the highest stage of moral culture. Chauvinistic songs appearing in a prayer-book for the use of French soldiers claim God and his saints as French national possession.[3] That is a spirit born of the spirit of national creeds, and not a spirit born of the spirit of the Gospel. The Christian religion, declining to be put into a national frame or to have its abode with a nation transformed into a prison, and rather being resolved upon leading *all* nations to the light and the fountains of salvation, towers sky-high above the old Asiatic cults.

3 Cantiques et Prières pour le temps de la Guerre, Boulogne s. S. 1915 ("Allg. Rundschau" Nr. 39, Sept. 25, 1915, p. 699).

The kingdom of God, therefore, *cannot be nationalized* for the exclusive benefit of one particular people. On the other hand, however, it is equally true that the nations need *not be denationalized* in the interest of God's kingdom. The nations may, with sincere desire for salvation, seek the kingdom of God and adhere to it without denying good national particularities, without relinquishing justified national interests. Unity in faith does not spell unity of national sentiment; communion of the means of graces does not import identity of civilization; spiritual brotherhood does not import want of patriotism. Christianity's mission is neither to Romanize the Germans, nor to Germanize the Romanic nations. German kind and Romanic kind are as incongruous, historically, as the two brothers in Rebecca's womb were inimical. Ecclesiastically speaking, they are two national individualities, both being called to the apostolate in the kingdom of God, but traveling on different roads like Paul and Barnabas (Acts 15, 39 f.). The German traveler in Romanic countries shall not judge everything according to the rules of his native land; nor should the French Committee try to square German nature by Romanic standards and question the right of German Catholics to be what they are. In the Universal Church, Roman-Catholic and Romanic-Catholic is not identical, and to say that everything that is not Romanic ceases to be Catholic, would be to apply to religion the opinion of Prince Condé who when he was forced to leave Speyer, consoled himself by saying: "The German canaille, methinks, does not know how to take princes of blood."

The *first and most singular characteristic* of our religious-moral culture which has become especially prominent within the decades immediately preceding the war, is evidenced by the *forceful representation of religious interests and the rights of the Church in public life* and the energetic will of participation in the works of civic and social welfare. Religion with us is not a private matter, nor a mystery to be kept in rigid enclosure within the walls of the sacristy. Religion with us is rather a message of good cheer to our people, the reason of our social eminence, the root of our national strength, God's seal upon human rights. Religion,—and indeed as a fixed and definite creed and not a vague interdenominationalism,—with us is the strongest guardian of right and justice, respect for authority and order, manly discipline and matrimonial fidelity, veracity and charity, and of all the other pillars of social order in civilized communities. The interior of the sanctuary also with us shall always remain the proper "base of operations" for the nourishing of souls with the word of God and the holy Sacraments; outside of the sacristy doors, however, many "lines of communication" branch into public life there on a great scale to coöperate in common

causes. Such "lines of communication" are our charitable and social organizations; preparedness of the press and the apostolate of the printed word in general; unhampered pastoral activities in schools and hospitals; moral and economic uplift of the different classes through vocational associations (*Standesvereine*) and their organs; care for the fallen and those that are exposed to danger; and lastly, but not least in importance, the participation in our national intellectual advancement. That will of participation in public life has moulded our social organizations.[4] We cannot enumerate them all.[5] In really masterly style has the "Volksverein für das katholische Deutschland" (People's Union for Catholic Germany) with a membership of 750,000 souls, undertaken the task of reconnoitering along the whole front of public life, and the "Katholische Frauenbund" (Federation of Catholic Women) has called the women of all walks of life into its school of social action. In these fields of endeavor the Latin countries are also doing commendable work. But our culture has a wider range than theirs.

Organization, so successful in our social endeavors, is the secret of our political strength as well. We avoid, however, *mixing religion with politics.* We resent patriotism which unfurls the national tricolor on either side of the altar and intones the Marseillaisse on the pulpit. But whenever there is drawn into parliamentary discussion a question of religious importance, such as the school question; or when an anti-religious policy confounds religion with politics; then it becomes necessary that, connected with the same publicity and the same parliament, men shall be on the look-out, and, supported by the confidence of the people and the bishops, shall work faithfully and assiduously for the rights and interests of the Church and participate in the legislation of the Empire. In Germany freedom of speech shall not be enjoyed by the harbingers of infidelity and the spokesmen of religious hatred alone.

The German Catholics' firm will to compete with their fellow citizens in the sciences also, has been most pronouncedly manifested by the *incorporation of Theology into the organism of the State Universities.* In five dioceses,—Gnesen-Posen, Kulm, Mainz, Metz, Trier,—theologians pursue their theological studies in Priests' Seminaries. Eight dioceses have a philosophical-theological faculty, partly of secular, partly of ecclesiastical character, as for instance, Eichstätt and Paderborn. Eight of the 22 German Universities,—Breslau, Freiburg, Bonn, München, Strassburg, Tübingen, Würzburg,—have Catholic theological faculties. The faculty of Strassburg, the last to be created, opened its doors in the year 1903 with the blessing of Pope Leo XIII. Thus the then

4 Cf. above, chapt. 17.
5 Cf. H. A. Krose, Kirchliches Handbuch IV (1913), 309-413, especially the list of societies, pp. 392-413, a most representative work on German religious and moral culture.

revived controversy, "Seminarian or University Theology," was decided in favor of the latter. The Priests' Seminaries working on parallel lines with the universities retain as heretofore the important task of ascetic training and deepening of the students' theological character. Theology in as far as it has a direct bearing on religious culture is a factor of the greatest importance in the Senate of the academic faculties. Its teachings in the public lecture-room are like the light upon the candle-stick; dispersing prejudices regarding theological studies, the relative position of faith and science, and the divine power of the church in shaping culture. In this manner our theological faculties, in spite of Döllinger and similar isolated instances, remain our areopagus. The removal of theology from the universities would deal a severe blow to the Church in a most important zone of cultural activity. Should the government decide to create a Catholic theological faculty in Warsaw, only recently acquired, we shall undoubtedly again hear the ridiculous cant, first advanced at the creation of the theological faculty in Strassburg, namely, that the government wishes these institutions to become hot-houses of Germanization. But as long as the command to render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, remains a tenet of Scriptural theology, as long as patriotism is classed as a moral virtue, it cannot be considered a decline of the theological education when the theologians, the future leaders of the people, come into touch at the universities with the intellectual aims of their country and get to know their fellow-students of other faculties.

Thus our religious culture has ventured to march with firm step into public life, and conquered for itself a place in the sun. A few concrete facts laid before our Catholic brethren abroad, rather than lengthy dilations, will illustrate *the esteem in which religion is held in our public life.* On January 27, 1900, Emperor William II., that staunch confessor of religion, donated to the convent-church at Beuron a magnificent crucifix accompanied by an autograph letter addressed to the Benedictine Fathers, which read as follows: "May this crucifix bring peace and blessing to your Arch-Abbey, and grant to all the faithful, who in the sincerity of their hearts kneel before it, strength and consolation from on High." On Maundy Thursday of each year, Louis III., by the grace of God King of the Bavarians, repeats the example set by the King of Kings, of humbly washing the feet of twelve men, and on the feast of Corpus Christi walks with his court in the procession through the streets of the capital. On March 5, 1912, Count Hertling, President of the Bavarian Council, spoke these manly words in the Chamber of Deputies: "I have never made an effort to conceal the fact that I endeavor to be a true and loyal son of the Catholic Church." A few years ago when in the Reichstag a Socialist deputy raised his hand against

the person of the Savior, a Conservative deputy roundly rebuked him in spirited language. Outspoken conviction of religious tenet, indeed, is not the smallest of German virtues. What a contrast, when compared to governmental circles of other countries! How often do we not find that these take more pains to air their infidelity than to profess Christianity; that they inhibit, in spite of petitions by the people, public devotions in time of war; that they object to papal prayers for peace and minimize public rights and the authority of the "City on the Mount."

The *second* thoroughly German characteristic of our religious culture is the *union of State and Church.* The concordats with the Apostolic See (for Bavaria 1817, for Prussia by the so-called Zirkumskriptionsbulle of 1821) laid the foundations of diplomatic and political relations with the Vatican, and on the ruins of the Secularization at the beginning of the last century, the ecclesiastical reconstruction was begun. France by the Law of Separation of December 9, 1905, annulled her concordat of 1801, which guaranteed the free exercise of religion, and by arbitrary breach of contract set aside the politico-ecclesiastical order agreed upon by Napoleon I and Pius VII. Ecclesiastical institutions were shamefully plundered; crucifixes were removed from schools and court rooms; official relations with the Church were discontinued, and religion and the Church banished from public life. In Germany the concordats were always considered of international character imposing mutual legal obligations, and have remained inviolate to this day. The reproach, therefore, hurled at Germany, namely, that the German government sees nothing more in a treaty than a mere scrap of paper (24-26) is justly applicable to that nation which by arbitrary breach cancelled the covenant of its concordat. It is true that during the nineteenth century, with its storm-tossed waves of contradictory doctrine, the confidence between the State and Church in Germany were at times disturbed and even seriously shaken. Ways and means, however, were always found to adjust our differences on the terms of the concordat. At the Catholic Congress, at Metz, in the year 1913, I, in accordance with the bishops' conference at Fulda, pointed out that the Church does not in full measure enjoy the liberty to which she is entitled, that now and then the police authorities of individual states encroach on her rights, and that the repeal of a few remnants of the Kulturkampf laws, especially as they affect the liberty of religious orders, is progressing with extreme tardiness. But on the same occasion I also laid special emphasis on the fact that German Catholics in these matters confidently look to Emperor William the Just. At the Congress I referred to the Prussian charter of January 31, 1850, which secures to the Catholic Church, as well as to every other denomination, independent control of all its affairs; and there drew the very marked

contrast between the German ideal of Church and State union, and French Church oppression. The German ideal is not separation of the Church and State as exemplified in America, much less the oppression of the Church by the State as we see it in France; our ideal is the harmonious coöperation of Church and State as provided in the concordats. In this opinion we find ourselves in conformity with the highest authorities of Church and State, particularly with the 55th thesis of the Syllabus, which repudiates the contention that Church and State should constitute separate and distinct corporations. The two corporations, especially where the Church lays claim to a juridical status in public life, have such a wide field of common activity and interests that a peaceful coöperation based upon mutual confidence and benevolence cannot but be most beneficent for both.

In this union the *State,* on the one hand, by subsidies, legal protection, technical assistance in the erection of churches, maintaining ecclesiastical art and monuments, and other functions, appears as *benefactor of the Church.* The penal code of the German Empire (paragraphs 166, 167, 196, 304) forbids blasphemy and anti-religious vulgarities and shields with strong secular arm places of worship, ecclesiastical persons and buildings. The German laws are far more efficient in protecting divine service and the clergy against disturbances and abuses than those of the Romanic countries. Even in purely ecclesiastical matters, such as popular missions and public processions, we are obliged to notify the civil authorities (*Anzeigepflicht*); but in return for this apparent inconvenience we receive police protection. Pastoral care derives no small meed of assistance from the fact that our laws command the observance of Sunday[6] and do not only permit pastoral activity and religious instruction in the public schools and in all State institutions, including the military academies, but make these part and parcel of the curriculum.

The *Church,* on the other hand, by her reciprocal coöperation in public life, becomes the *benefactress of the State.* In the exercise of her religious moral mission, the Church becomes a powerful agency in stemming the tide of moral decay and corruption and in leading social life to moral regeneration. By her social influence, the Church has proved herself in all ages the guardian of authority, family and property, and thus has been the strongest bulwark of social order. The history of revolutions shows that there is but a short road from vilification of divine rights to vilification of royal and human rights. Thus the mission of the Church subserves not only a spiritual end, but nurtures civic virtue and national spirit as well.

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[6] Gewerbeordnung für das Deutsche Reich § 105, a-i (105b as amended June 1, 1891) and § 136. Bürgerliches Gesetzb., § 618, sect. 2, enjoins on employers the duty to have a regard for the religion of servants.

In our country, too, isolated attempts have been made to crush the organic union of Church and State, and to expose the same to the shoals which brought destruction to a similar union in France. We are also forced to contend occasionally with attempts to apply state prerogatives to the adjustment of internal ecclesiastical affairs. The introduction of civil marriages, of optional cremation, and of state supervision of church property, have made heavy inroads upon the rights demanded by Canon law. The most recent concession in these and similar questions, the "Bayrische Kirchengemeindeordnung" (since January 1, 1913), has substantially increased the rights of the higher ecclesiastical authorities in Bavaria, and materially assisted in procuring appropriations for churches in the large cities. Isolated advantages such as these, however, offset again by occasional disadvantages as enumerated above, do not materially alter the status of our religious moral culture. The union of Church and State invests the former with constitutional attributes, and makes her such a factor in our national public life as truly to entitle her to the appellation "the City on the Mount."

By considering the two first characteristics of our religious culture, namely, the introduction of religion into the fabric of our public life and the coöperation of Church and State, we have become acquainted with the vastness of its scope and its all-pervading influence. A consideration of the third and fourth characteristics, which were evolved from certain historical and psychological agencies, will establish its claim to *thoroughness.* As the mustard tree sends its roots deeper and deeper into the ground with the spreading of its branches, so, too, religion, in order to prevent one-sided development of our culture, must constantly acquire greater depth and greater thoroughness.

A well-defined and positive confessionalism forms *the third characteristic* of our religious culture, and is the product of the co-existence of *Protestantism and Catholicism.* The schism of the sixteenth century, which divided our nation into two separate and distinct religious camps, was accompanied and followed by circumstances which left deep traces in our intellectual life. Religious wars waged by pen and sword, premeditated and accidental disturbances of confessional peace, prejudices, caricatures, satirical writings, churches and schools in common to Catholics and Protestants (*Simultankirchen und Simultanschulen*), mixed marriages, quarrels concerning equality and toleration, hardships accruing to Catholics living in the *"Diaspora"* among Protestant majorities, formed some of the many difficulties which hampered the Church and frustrated, to some extent, her endeavors to animate and inspire our culture. We would certainly do a great injustice to present generations if we made them responsible for this entangling bequest of history. Despite

these difficulties, however, German Catholics entertain no desire to emigrate from the country of "the genuine German man Luther and the genuine German god Wotan" (44) and erect their tabernacles under the heaven of the French anti-Christian Kulturkampf.

Regarding their public juridical status, the two creeds demand *fundamental equality* as a necessary requisite for peaceful co-existence. The law of the Norddeutsche Bund (North German Confederation) of July 3, 1869, makes "the qualification for public office independent of creed." A very erroneous opinion seems to prevail abroad, namely, that Protestantism is the only political quantity to be taken into account in "Lutheran" Germany, that Catholicism is an entirely negligible quantity. Goyau speaks of a "systematic equation between Protestantism and Germanism" (33). For this hallucination those may be held to accountability who persist in speaking of the Protestant, instead of the Christian, foundation of the German state.

Furthermore, many people in foreign countries seem to be completely wrapt up in the illusion that Protestantism is entirely *negative and aggressive;* that it is, in consequence, barren of every constructive advancement; that it is, religiously speaking, a fruitless fig-tree. The unnamed author of the third essay—anonymity is sometimes a sign of modesty, but oftener an indication of a bad conscience—makes the startling announcement, on page 78, that Russia is more agreeable to the sight of God than Lutheran Germany. Is it not madness to gauge the religious status of the belligerent nations according to their position as allies or enemies, and from the Catholic point of view to defend Russia, this Mamertine Prison of Catholic life? Or is it just to ascribe to German Protestantism in general the quarrelsome disposition of mind which is evinced by a few Protestant publications and organizations? Or is it fair to pay attention only to Evangelical contentions relative to the Apostolicum and the articles of faith, and not to take any notice also of the constructive religious and social activities of the Evangelicals —activities whose breadth and thoroughness are in many respects examplary?

The insinuation that Catholics and Protestants—especially the Catholic minority—minimize the dogmatic purity of their religion, would complete the caricature of the French Committee. In matters pertaining to army bills and war loans, workingmen's insurance, and other secular affairs we work hand in hand with our non-Catholic fellow-citizens; but in doing so we have not the remotest intention of sacrificing one jot of our religious conviction or of modifying even in the slightest detail dogmatic tenets. We support the Christian trades' unions because they are indispensable to the German laboring classes, and become guilty

of no inconsistency when at the same time we accept unreservedly the Encyclical of Pius X.[7] that such a coalition of Catholics and Protestants shall not be tantamount to an undefined and undenominational Christianity. Surely, Catholics and Protestants may, without impairing their religious convictions, join forces against Freethinkers and other common foes who would inter every religion. Political toleration and Christian charity are capable of mitigating contrarieties, without sacrificing principles to dogmatic toleration, without "letting down the drawbridges."[8] When one or another has an unlucky hand in formulating peace programs and if these are then advertised in the foreign press as expressing the sentiments of the German Catholics as a body, the fact should not be overlooked that the entirety of Catholic Germany is responsible neither for unfortunate phrases, nor for real mistakes of individuals. Churches in common for Catholics and Protestants (*Simultankirchen*) are not the creatures of a desire for an undenominational religion; they are the offspring of dire necessity which stood out in the street and needed shelter for divine worship. It is relevant to call attention to the fact that these undenominational churches today are being abolished where they still exist; that only the place of worship is common to both creeds, and not divine service; that they bear no resemblance to Longfellow's church in which attendants on the right are made to say *"Dominus vobiscum,"* and those on the left: "Allah is great." The two creeds in Germany do not dream of renouncing for the sake of peace their respective religious positiveness, nor of establishing a hotch-potch religion glittering in all colors of the rainbow. Any attempt to tear down the two creeds to their common fundamentals and make them thus acceptable to all, would lead to a third creed and treble the schism. Whatever the attitude of Protestants may be in this matter, it is certain that Catholics have not the remotest cause to minimize their faith; for it is exactly that rigid dogmatic positiveness of the Catholic religion, its conception of authority and its firm guidance which appeal to searching minds and make the Church the religious Great Power without equal.

The Papal Encyclical mentioned above, stamped with the unmistakable exactness of Pius X., defines the limits of social coöperation with non-Catholics, and admonishes Catholics, by way of preface, that, Catholic principles being safeguarded, they should also "keep that peace with their non-Catholic fellow-citizens which is promotive of the social order and the welfare of civil society."[9] More than ever this papal edict is an order of the day. More than ever it is a crime against Church and culture to

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7 "Singulari," September 24, 1912 (Acta Apost. Sedis IV. 657 ff).
8 In the German original "Grenzsteine verschieben". Regarding our version, cf. Maignen, Father Hecker, Is he a Saint? p. 383.—Editor.
9 Acta Ap. Sedis IV, 658.

call the spirits of religious discord, no matter whether this call is sent out at home or abroad.

The *fourth characteristic* of German religious culture is the product of the *thoroughness of the German mind.* For just as opposition to our religious convictions induces us to study and therefore know their tenets more thoroughly, just so will certain traits of the German mind, if directed into the proper channels, pave the way towards a more thorough understanding of the tasks of our religious culture and incite to greater perseverance. The German nature delights in criticism and despises mechanical echoing; it craves individual research and ratiocination; it yields only upon proof; it is not persuaded by verbosity. This critical tendency may bring the German ego into the great danger to follow in the footsteps of Faust, trying to square the values of revelation to human measures and weights, and on account of sheer bankering to lose faith. Bismarck addressing a body of students on one occasion, said: "I wish to caution you, gentlemen, not to carry the German desire for criticism to excess." On the other hand, however, the inclination to get a clear insight into matters immaterial may be one's pathfinder to the unclouded depths of faith, and to criticise a thing sometimes evidences more interest than to ignore it. At all events, our people cannot be put off with that frivolous and shallow mockery which tramples under foot faith and religion and works such sad havoc among other nations.

The religious tempest which tossed the intellectual destinies of Germany on its darkened crests during the last century, may be ascribed, for the greater part at least, to the critical temperament of the German character. Over and above those controversies which were accorded universal agitation, we find in Germany Hermesianism and German Catholicism; the Old Catholic and "Los-von-Rom" movements; Grassmann's attack upon the Sacrament of penance; Arthur Drew's negation of the historic character of Christ; Aigner's attack upon Lourdes; Haeckel's Darwinism and Horneffer's free-religious movement. All these controversies, with the exception of Monism and the Freethinkers' movement, are now subdued. During all these controversies men entered the lists, who with the armature of science fought the battles of the Lord. Catholics abroad often obtained knowledge of the attack only by reason of the successful defense. It may be stated in particular that the German Catholics today fix their eyes upon Rome with religious fidelity and joyous devotion. The mad contention that our people are raising the cry: "Away from Rome" (274) does not alter the objective facts, but redounds to the discredit of its authors. Today no serious-minded man will claim that Modernism had its general staff and headquarters on German soil. In all these battles for the preservation of the integrity

of our religious culture, the thoroughness of the German mind has sharpened the swords for defense and intensified our religious fervor.

The steely sense of realities and the persistent perseverance of the German mind has left a similar imprint upon our religious culture. The German stands with both feet on the ground of reality and grasps with both hands the tasks nearest to his reach. The German ego, unlike the French missionary (Cf. chapt. 20), is not content to indulge in rosy imaginings of possibilities of tomorrow and the day after tomorrow, but lives by the acutely defined realities of today. We do not underestimate the religious and moral values of Christian hopefulness and the philosophy of optimism. Nor are we lost in sweet hopes for things to come and thereby tempted to forget what we owe to the arduous present. *Vox diei vox Dei!* Even in this regard the official war reports offer ample opportunities to study the psychology of nations, just as the respective history of the German and French Kulturkampf does. The position which the German Catholics gained for themselves in the Empire, did not fall to their lot without labor and strife. Only German perseverance has brought it about. The Latin temperament enters more rapidly upon an undertaking, but turns back also more quickly when it encounters opposition. Perseverance alone, and not the handicap granted to the "eldest daughter," shall merit the prize in the contest for the crown.

The *fifth characteristic* of our religious culture is reflected in *the tenor of our religious life and pastoral practice.* The training of the will and mind forms the sub-stratum of all culture. (*"Die Seele aller Kultur bleibt die Kultur der Seele"*; verbatim: The culture of the soul is the soul of all culture.) Hence those vested with sacerdotal dignity, the spiritual guides of the people are, before all others, the chosen and responsible pioneers of religious culture. The education of the German clergy begins in the public educational institutions. The majority of the candidates for the priesthood attend these institutions, but live, in accordance with the decrees of Trent, in diocesan Seminaries, in the shadow of the sanctuary. In the college class room they enter into mental contest with their secular fellow students—who some day will be officers, professors, lawyers, physicians—, and it is generally known that, above all, the candidates for the holy priesthood deserve well. A college (Gymnasium) degree qualifying for matriculation at the university is required of every student requesting to be inscribed on the roster of theologians. The same rule applies to candidates of religious orders. The requirements for the admittance of students of theology into the university correspond in every detail to the conditions governing the admittance of students of any other faculty. The right of the Church of regulating the course of studies of her theologians, of imbuing them

with the spirit of the priesthood in her seminaries, is not curtailed; nevertheless, we prefer to send the theologians to the university if possible. We risk theologians, in order to make priests. Financial reasons preclude the establishment of special theological academies with complete academic courses ranking with those of the State universities. Whatever problematic values may attach to considerations of this kind we are satisfied with present conditions. It is difficult for people of foreign countries to form an adequate estimate of the prestige accruing to our clergy by reason of their association with secular students at the colleges and universities. Theology is here not a light under a bushel. The theological lectures are posted on the bulletin board of the university; the public lectures of the theologians are attended by students of all faculties; the names of the winners of prize contests and the recipients of doctors' degrees are announced in the public auditorium. Thus the German priest, by ties of blood often belonging to the plain people, by scientific training one of the intellectual leaders of the nation, is qualified in an extraordinary degree to be a bearer of light, to win and warm the hearts of men of all strata of society and fire them with Divine Love. (*"Ein Sendbote des Lichtes und ein Wärmeleiter der Heilandsliebe für alle sozialen Schichten der Gesellschaft"*).

The French law regulating military service, calls the priests to arms, regardless of whether or not they can be spared from their pastoral duties. The Committee assures us with wonderful quiescence that even this requirement, which is in direct violation to Canon Law, has its recompenses. The *curés sac au dos,* it says (55 f.), change war into a religious renaissance, into a "spiritual retreat." German "militarism" by an Imperial law of February 8, 1890[10] relieved theologians from military service, and even during time of war dispensed from sanitary service those priests, who in the opinion of their ecclesiastical superiors are necessary in the pastorate. The brothers on the battlefield and in the field hospitals are provided for by our army-chaplains without *sac au dos,* and the care for our parishes at home is not diminished.

The care of souls, the pulsation of religious culture, on German soil has *indigenous requirements.* In the "diaspora" where our co-religionists, few in number, are cast among people of different religions, extraordinary zeal is required of the pastor. The generous contributions by Catholics from other parts of the country to the St. Boniface Society, have rendered only partial relief in the matter of erecting churches, schools and communicants' institutions. Among 500,000 marriages contracted in the German Empire in the year 1911, 50,000 were mixed marriages, and nearly two-thirds of the children springing from mixed

[10] The Imperial edict is dated March 14, 1890.

marriages were reared as non-Catholics. This will serve as an illustration of the manifold problems presented to our pastors, and will also in part explain our profound gratitude for the Apostolic decree, *Provida* of January 18, 1906, which cleared up much doubt and confusion regarding the marriage question by conferring the Canonical sanction upon Protestant marriages contracted without conformity to the Tridentine form. Other pastoral difficulties resulting from the fluctuating population of our large cities, due to our central location on the Continent, have been remedied in an exemplary manner, especially in the enormous parishes of the Rheno-Westfalian industrial districts, by registry offices, filing systems for domestic missionary work, weekly papers, parish almanacs and other means of modern pastoral care. It is a source of no small gratification to us to have been instrumental in ministering to the religious wants of a very large number of Italians who earned a living in Germany before the outbreak of the war.

The care of souls in Germany has also *indigenous pastoral methods.* In general outlines, which hold for the twentieth century as well as for the second and on this side of the Vosges as well as beyond, the working methods of pastoral care are laid out by the Scriptural pastoral letters and the ecclesiastical regulations. Within these extensive lines, however, the pastoral task must adapt itself to the wants of the times and the country. Its first and sublimest mission will always be the liturgical feast of the holy mysteries, the administering of the Sacraments, the distribution of bread by preaching and catechising, and visiting the sick. But let us not overlook the fact that these must be linked with the material features of our social fabric; let us not forget that their harmony with the operations of our public life have produced achievements which stand as proud monuments of our age and our country. In accordance with the example of the Good Shepherd we must look outside of the church for those who have ceased to go to church; many will not find the way home to God, before they will have regained faith in mankind. Thoroughly imbued with these realities, our clergy combine a large number of *social activities* with their church-work. In this manner our education and protection of youth, our press associations and Borromæus Society, our Association for the Protection of Young Girls and railroad missions, direction in the choice of vocation and employment bureaus, our Abstinents' league and Raphael Society, combine with their material purposes the promotion of the fervor for the kingdom of Christ. The "Standesvereine"—the journeymen's, laboring-men's and laboring-women's, and other societies—are especially active in solving the economic problems of the working classes, and become at the same time powerful agencies in the interest of spiritual advancement. This

coöperation on the part of our clergy with secular organizations, linked with their onerous duties on Sundays, predicate anything but a life of ease. But our clergy deduct the will of God from the existence of the necessity. The French Comité has it that the French priest, with knapsack and musket, forms the "salt of the army"; "that the association of curés and soldiers . . . is productive of mutual esteem and brotherly sympathy" (56). The German priest, by his activity in the different societies produces the same results, not only periodically, but continuously, and without being encumbered either by musket or knapsack. Wherever clergy and laity are united in social endeavors as they are in Germany, there is little danger of "declericalization" (28) of our people.

The care of souls on German soil has also *indigenous successes.* The zeal of the house of God chants everywhere its hallelujah and found particular expression in the erection of many new churches during the last few years. Racial psychology precludes the idea that the sons of this nation who evinced such marked zeal for the house of God during times of peace, should in times of war, without military necessity and for mere demoniac lust of destruction, aim their mortars at churches and crucifixes. Again, our people are wont to keep the Lord's day. The sight of military bodies marching to church in close columns to the beat of drums, to render to God the things that are God's, furnishes most eloquent proof of obedience to the third commandment and furnishes a splendid example to our rising generations. The laxity of the French civil population in this respect was so offensive to our veterans of 1870 that they speak of it to this day. It was, indeed, a great sacrifice of obedience when our people had to comply with the decree of 1911[11] abrogating a number of feast-days.

Statistics contained in the ecclesiastical handbook (Kirchliches Handbuch)[12] put the number of pastors in Northern Germany in 1913 at 10,596—an average of one pastor for 1,420 parishioners—and the number of pastors in Southern Germany at 10,483—an average of one pastor for 835 parishioners. Our *laymen's apostolate,* another auspicious manifestation of our religious culture, forms an auxiliary detachment to the regular army of the clergy. These lay apostles in no way meddle in the duties of the priest, or detract from his ecclesiastical authority and dignity. But precious talents are here hidden which may be dug out by prudent confidence, and coined for the kingdom of God. This applies with particular force to the rank and file of the cultured classes who have recently evinced great interest in religious, theological,

11 Motuproprio "Supremi" of July 2, 1911, (Acta Apost. Sedis III 305 ff).
12 IV (1913) 213-217.

scriptural and liturgical questions. Thus, for instance, they have established in addition to the Görres Society, whose aims are purely scientific, the *"Verband der Vereine katholischer Akademiker"* (Federation of Catholic Academicians' Societies), an organization which is rapidly becoming the center of Catholic enlightenment and the nucleus of an intensely Catholic lay-apostolate. The reserve detachment of this old guard is composed of our Catholic students' organizations whose members not only sing *"Gaudeamus igitur,"* but form the intellectual backbone of our religious culture. The attitude of the cultured classes indeed is of prime and vital importance in the broadening of our intellectual and religious advancement.

The French indictment, on p. 63 ff., submits to God and the world an account of the large donations of France for the propagation of faith and checks up the much smaller sums of the Germans and Austrians. *À la bonheur!* Missionary zeal is laudable wherever we find it. But certainly we shall not call into question Pope Benedict's letter of December 8, 1914, which informs us that of all contributions collected in the year 1914 throughout the world by the Work of the Holy Childhood of Jesus nearly one-half was raised by *German* children.[13] On page 53f. the French saints are enumerated. Our congratulations on every saint; but is it not just a little peculiar that St. Elisabeth, the princess of charity, should be the most popular of all native saints among a people that considers charity folly (42), and that a people which rails at German militarism should cast its popularity vote for Jeanne d'Arc in soldier's attire? Page 54 ff. is devoted to the enumeration of the French priests and to the eulogy of their ardent zeal. Our best wishes for the continuance of that zeal. *Our* riches are our priests who, being too few in number, must work for two, and our men who are keeping the priests busy. The "practicing" Catholicity of our academic professions, the monthly communions of the men's apostolate, the genuine Catholic enthusiasm of our Catholic Congresses (*Katholikentage*)—these indeed form the pride and stay of the Church of St. Boniface!

The *status of morality* of a nation is invariably a criterion of the inherent properties of its religious development. This brings us to the *sixth characteristic* of our religious culture. We have already seen (Cf. above, p. 111 ff.) in how far German philosophy, or to be more exact, in how far German philosophers by their denial of every distinction between good and bad (40), by their rejection of every objective moral principle concerning the doctrine of free will (28), by their contention that morality and public life are separate entities and by their recognition of brutal force above everything else (28), have subverted the basic

[13] Acta Ap. Sedis VI 693 f.

principles of Christian ethics. In view of the statements made, we tak leave to put this question: Does the conduct of the German peopl bear out the statement that with them right and morals are empt "symbols" (25), that the great commandment of the Gospel is folly (42) that egotism constitutes its code of ethics?

That the moral culture of a people should be at a remarkably lo ebb and the mean tenor of its religious culture high, are, first of al incompatible conditions. Religion and morality are inseparable; whe faith is strong morality thrives; when faith dies morality will not endur In the history of nations we find that religious pauperization has alway been followed by demoralization. The ethical culture movement—hi torically not of German origin—and the so-called independent moralit which disconnect the current of power between the sanctuary of fait and the workshops of moral-religious labor and aim at public moral without public religion, could not appeal to the German people as th equivalents of Christian ethics. Extinguish the stars of heaven, an you darken the path of the earthly pilgrim, and then fireballs and searc lights of the earth cannot supplant the sources of light from on High The fact, therefore, that the German nation has reached such a hig plane of religious culture vouches for the high standard of its mor culture.

The actual moral achievements of the German people need not fe international morality statistics. The reproaches,—that egotism co stitutes our ethics, that the commandment of charity is foreign to us,— are refuted and put to shame by our charitable organizations, by ou care for the poor and sick, and by our social protective laws which c a great scale carry out our Savior's command to love our neighbo Unscrupulousness is not a German trait. With the courage of th prophets and unconcerned about the whims of the people and the pa sionate policies of the day, our bishops have always, in their pastor letters, exhorted the immoral to do penance. Morality and criminali statistics have, with the inexorable language of figures, uncovered th germs of diseases and the cadaverous hue of moral culture, namely, natu cult, prematureness of youth, illegitimate births, divorces and oth attempts to commit family-suicide, suicides, decline in the birth-rat These dark shadows, however, are *by no means a particular phenomen in the life of the German people,* but form the concomitants of mode civilization in general. Even the French book makes the confessi that Europe is morally a desert (27, 28), and that the 19th century " France as well as elsewhere" (58) has capped the climax of mor degeneracy. In this connection it is significant to mention that t population of Germany has grown from 40 millions to 69½ millio

since 1870, whilst that of France consisting of 39½ millions has remained at a standstill. According to Moltke's dictum, France has lost a battle every year, and committed slow but unfailing national suicide. France has no cause to pose as rigid moralist and claim the prize of virtue. Germans, too, have learned from their French neighbor the deadliest mortal sin of the 20th century which renders whole nations extinct even in the absence of war. But our *"Männervereine zur Bekämpfung der öffentlichen Unsittlichkeit"* (Men's Societies for the Suppression of Public Immorality) have taken a decided stand against this unblushing evil. We shall not assume to pass sentence upon France's moral culture on the whole. But we cannot but deplore the fact that her moral regeneration in the purifying flame of war should be precluded by our adversaries who in this bloody judgment of nations find fault only with other nations. Where mental blindness prevails, the day of visitation cannot subserve peace.

The *last characteristic* of our religious culture is our *school system*. The educational institutions of a nation, more than anything else, are its means of moral advancement and the reflection of its culture. It is not our intention to render here a complete sketch of our educational system from the kindergarten to the university. We can point out only those features which have special significance for the religious culture of a nation, and those characteristics which are peculiar to the German people.

In nearly all the federal states of the German Empire, the primary schools are denominational in character. The Prussian constitution, Article 24, provides "that in the establishment of schools the confessional interests of the locality must prevail." The "Statistische Jahrbuch" (Annual Statistics) shows that in the year 1911 only a little over ten per cent of the Catholic children of Prussia attended non-Catholic schools, and that less than five per cent of Protestant children attended non-Protestant schools. The school law (1902, Art. 5) of Bavaria,—the second largest federal state in Germany,—which was drafted in accordance with the constitutional enactment of 1883, provides as follows: "The primary schools shall be confessional schools." Mixed schools, therefore, are to be permitted only in exceptional cases, and under "extraordinary circumstances." The school laws of Württemberg are formulated along similar lines. In these schools the entire curriculum is permeated with the spirit of faith, and religion is unhampered in the work of character formation. The present war bears testimony to the fact that our national unity has not been shaken, that German concentration and strength have not declined under the influence of the confessional school.

Even the undenominational schools, permitted only in exceptiona cases, are required to render *denominational religious instruction* whic is subject to the canonical supervision of the Church. Undenominationa religious instruction is rejected by both creeds, and rightly so; for suc instruction would only breed religious indifferentism.

In the summer of 1911, the Prussian Diet rejected obligator religious instruction for *continuation schools,* by a vote of eleven to eigh Prussia, in this respect, forms a sharp contrast to Bavaria, where, b royal decree of December 22, 1913, the pupils of continuation schoo up to the age of 16, were legally enjoined to attend religious instructio It was indeed the communing of congenial minds when in the sam summer of 1911 the Emperor of Austria, in an address from the thron proclaimed the inviolate rights of religion in the schools, and enjoine these with the task of "education on moral-religious foundation," an when in the Bavarian Chamber of Deputies the continuation schoo "based upon religious-moral foundation," were characterized in behal of the government as "educational schools." Our young people wi continue to be our national defense as long as they are morally sound and such time will be commensurate with the existence of religiou education. The work of educating those who are no longer enjoined b law to attend school, by means of public lectures and courses, also pa takes of a religious character. Indeed, a statistical compilation public lectures on religious subjects rendered throughout Germany, woul be a splendid vindication of our religious culture.

The *higher educational institutions,* in contradistinction to th elementary schools, are with but few exceptions interdenominational i their scope and curriculum. In general, however, the rule prevails tha secular instruction shall not be at variance with previous religious instru tion. In Prussia, higher education of girls and women was reorganize in the year 1908, and based upon the principle that "the study of religio and German shall continue to be the leading studies of the curriculum. It appears, therefore, that religion is accorded a prominent and centra position in our schools. The Bavarian regulation of advanced schoo for girls and women, adopted in 1911, made the study of religion oblig tory and ranked it as a principle study for examination. Its recen measures, passed May 30, 1914, affecting colleges (Gymnasien) and hig schools not of a liberal nature (Realschulen), made moral fitness, "base upon religious considerations," the standard of these institutions, an gave voice and vote to the teachers of religion among the faculty.

In France the controversy concerning schools and education term nated with the elimination of religious instruction from the curriculu of the public schools in 1882, and the closing of schools conducted

religious congregations in 1902. Religion and faith were banished from the State schools, and so-called lay-morals, wholly devoid of belief in a God and a Savior, stripped of the decalogue and deprived of the influence of priests and the Sacraments, were intrusted with the rearing of the rising generation. Statistical returns bear sufficient evidence as to the efficiency of these lay-morals.[14] The sad picture of Jean Beraud, which contrasts a group of children from the parish school who devoutly hail the Divine Sufferer, with a similar group of children from the public school, who led by their instructor, shower stones upon Him, is evidently familiar to the members of the French Comité. Catholics in France, following the old French ideal of the "École libre," have spared no sacrifice to establish schools separate and distinct from the State schools. This duplex system of education is not in conformity with our ideal. We are decidedly in favor of concentrated coöperation of Church and State in the unifying school system (*Einheitsschule*) based on confessional considerations and with obligatory religious instruction. In Germany, too, the school question is one without permanent harmony, and the development of religious ideals in educational lines has not always received the unqualified support of administrative and legislative measures. In general, however, the German government has never adopted the narrow-minded police regulations of the French Kulturkampf, and has never failed to recognize the rights of the Church and the signal advantages obtained by linking religious instruction with secular training.

Freethinkers have made several attempts to eliminate the German principle of education and to adopt irreligious schools after the French pattern, but their efforts have never obtained as against the German school authorities. On July 17, 1914, only a short time before the outbreak of the war, the Bavarian government closed the free-religious schools founded by Ernst Horneffer and forbade irreligious instruction in the schools. Official Germany is as persistent in its friendly attitude towards religion as official France is determined to exterminate it. Germany has an educational as well as martial "Watch on the Rhine," consisting of the sound popular ideas of religious culture, and the conviction of the rulers that growth of religion and national strength are inseparable entities. The confessional "Standesvereine," the Catholic teachers' societies, this Legion of Honor of the Divine Friend of Children, frustrate every attempt of the school *sans Dieu* to break through the lines of Christian education. The "Organization for the Defense of the Christian School" and the "Society for the Preservation of the Evangelic Elementary School," among other organizations, are applying all legitimate means for the preservation of the Christian character and the

[14] Cf. V. Cathrein, Religion und Moral[2] (Freiburg 1904) 199 f.

confessional foundations of the German school. The World War will decide whether the irreligious schools of France or the religious schools of Germany are more productive of national strength.

The French indictment repeatedly addresses itself to the co-religionists of *neutral countries* with the express intent of showing that Germany is the sworn enemy of Christianity and the scape-goat of European civilization. We trust, however, that our Catholic brethren abroad will apply clearer judgment and distinguish between light and darkness in European civilization. We take the liberty of putting the following questions: Was it within the scope of an anti-German Committee to examine the German conscience? Did the Holy Ghost appoint French pastors to rule the German ecclesiastical provinces? Is it not reasonable to believe that the German bishops, who are living among their flock and watching over it, are more conversant with the religious culture of their country than strangers who are informed by irresponsible meddlers and misguided by political passions? Was it precisely for French hands to cast the first stone at us? Are there not more imminent dangers the French sentinels of religious culture could have reported? Can an intelligent man really credit the statement that the Kulturkampf in France is imported from Germany (48, 57), and hence nothing but a German solar spot in the French sun; can he believe that German Catholics who under great sacrifices conquered the Kulturkampf in their own country, could so easily be carried away by enthusiasm over an anti-religious war?

On the mountains of religious culture at least, let us welcome the heralds of peace! There is a time for war and a time for peace. The messengers of religious truth must, above all, serve the works of peace, and pave the way to international conciliation. It does not behoove them to carry the war in the name of religion to a new front, and to widen the breach which hatred has made. Paul and Barnabas, for a time travelers on different roads, later met again and united their efforts in the furtherance of their apostolic work. May thus the country of St. Vincent and the country of St. Elisabeth recover anew the words of the new song of conciliation at least in the realm of religious truth. Nations are created to love and not to hate one another. "Truth is all powerful and truth shall prevail" (3 Esr. 4, 41).

NOTE.—Bishop Faulhaber's essay dealing with such an extensive subject, is of necessity sketchy, and many an American reader will not perhaps grasp the full meaning of some aphoristic allusions. We would advise those who have a sufficient knowledge of German to read Bishop Faulhaber's brilliant volume "Zeitfragen und Zeitaufgaben." Gesammelte Reden. Freiburg i. B. 1915. Herder' scher Verlag. (B. Herder, 17 S. Broadway, St. Louis, Mo. $1.55 net.) It is a book teeming with information and inspiration; in many respects throwing a new light on modern ideas and their relation to Christianity and Church; illustrating in striking manner the perennial youth of our religion; serving for the Catholic who is bewildered by the conflicting ideas and endeavors of our times, as a true guide to the mountain crests of clear, Catholic principles.—Ed. Am. Edition.

20. Catholic Germany and Foreign Missions.

By Dr. Jos. *Schmidlin*, Professor at the University in Münster.

WITHOUT a doubt the prominent part which France has taken in the evangelization of heathen nations is one of its chief glories. It is, then, easy to understand that the *"French Foreign Missions"* were exhaustively recapitulated in this French book which we are now critically reviewing.

"France's Catholic role in the world" is a theme that has been frequently and variously treated before this time and it is here extolled by an anonymous Frenchman who professes his most tender love for his own fatherland, while he neither hates nor belittles any other nation. First he explains the fundamentals of the French missionary activities and the religious life of France, but soon takes the offensive by asserting that the German *Kulturkampfgeist* has so thoroughly vitiated the Catholic faith of Germany that it has become nationalized into a *Delirium germanicum* and, according to Bismarck's diabolical plan, has also poisoned France—and compares with it an idealized France with its supernatural favors and graces (La Salette!), with its many saints even in modern times, with its numerous (?) clergy despite the ravaging effects of the separation laws and its decimation through the late mobilization (which he considers all good), with its prolific production of monastic orders and religious congregations, with its various works of piety and devotion, but above all with its magnanimous almsgiving for the missions and missionary vocations. This anonymous missionary adds up the sums of money that France pays out annually to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and the Childhood of Jesus (both of them French in origin), and here the truly liberal contributions of Alsace-Lorraine are coolly taken from the Germans and appropriated to the French side; and when he treats of the Association of the Childhood of Jesus he flatly suppresses the sums contributed by all the other countries, so that it may remain unknown that Germany contributes double the amount of France. Then follows a very inaccurate account of the number of French missionaries and nuns laboring in foreign lands as given by Piolet who was but a panegyric and so superficial that he claimed 75 per cent of the missionaries for France. Finally, in dilettante fash-

ion, he tours the various missionfields (the Orient, Eastern Asia, America, Oceanica, and Africa) and recounts the activities of the French messengers of the Gospel.

Far be it that the *incontestible merits of the French Catholics and their missionaries* when based on facts of heroic almsgiving and heroic missionary labors, should be denied or minimized. When, therefore, the author puts these two questions: First, will the cause of Christian civilization and Catholic apostolate remain uninjured if France is impoverished and demolished? Second, does France deserve to be called an atheistic nation?—we answer unequivocally: *No.* But for the very reason that we make a distinction with this author between the official "anticlericalism" of the government (he calls it euphoniously a neutrality wrongly defined and applied) and the often manifested religious life of a fraction of the people (not of "the country")—in other words: because we make a distinction between the anti-Christian leaders of the government and the truly religious minority of the people, and as, on the other hand, we are at war with the French government and its policies, and not at all at war with the French Catholics—therefore these religious and missionary activities of Catholic France prove nothing whatever in this war which is a political and national affair and not a religious affair.

We would, therefore, rather leave unsaid what could be advanced *against* the exaggerated hymns of praise, from the standpoint of the history and theory of Catholic missionary work. We will not uncover the shortcomings of its organization and methods cropping out here and there, especially concerning the outrageous subjection and slavery in which not a few missionary institutions with their missionaries have found themselves towards the atheistic tendencies of the French government whose blind tools they have become. We will not mention how these anti-religious policies have attacked the very root of their missionary activities and robbed them of the fruit of their labors—for instance, the suppression of numerous mission schools in the French colonies—, but above all, how through the separation laws money and men were withheld from the missionary fields. We will not speak of the immeasurable damages inflicted on the missions in this war by France: to its own by forcing thousands of mission priests to serve as soldiers in the army and nuns to serve in the army hospitals; to the German missions by assisting the English government in capturing or driving out from their own and foreign missionfields the German priests and teachers; to the entire mission work by starting in conjunction with its allies and in utter disregard of every Christian principle, this war among

Christian nations and importing the heathen tribes to the European battlefields.

It is more adequate to the purpose of this reply, also to conform to the rather apologetic than polemic methods of our French opponent, by confining ourselves to the *defensive,* and speak of the missionary activities of German Catholicism recounting our positive labors and their results past and present, in the fields of foreign missions. Our assertions will be corroborated in the main by the free admissions of French publications.—"Correspondant" Sept. 25, 1912, and shortly before the war "Revue du clergé français," June 15, 1914—(most assuredly an impartial witness)—have praised the "zealous and methodical campaign of the German Catholics in the foreign missions" and put them before the French Catholics for imitation. Among other things the article (L'Allemagne et les missions) in question says:

> "A new, enthusiastic, well-ordered and determined crusade has been planned that is on the point of sweeping public opinion and to gather in all Catholic Germany under its banner from the metropolitan cities to the obscurest villages, from the primary schools to the universities. . . . Through their unity of purpose, the industrious German Catholics have achieved most gratifying results on this, as on other fields of endeavor. . . . It is an undeniable fact: In the hour when France, weakened by depopulation and riven by party strife, appears to withdraw into itself and relinquish its crusader's mission, . . . Germany indulges itself in the dream of world supremacy (?) righteously proud of its wonderful commercial and industrial growth, encouraged if not impelled by its teeming population it seeks the coöperation of the religious influences in its new holdings. In our country, owing to the legal muzzlings and plundering, the vocations for the missions become rarer and weaker and the alms for the missions are dwindling, while in Germany there is progress in all these things: Moneys, vocations, mission congregations and mission stations. The German Catholics rejoice over this as a providential fact. Catholic Germany, they say, seems destined to repair the ruins in the work of foreign missions caused by French persecutions."

The writers of these articles rightly assert that the *German foreign missionary activities* do not yet reach the scope of the French. But this is easily explained from Germany's past and present development: less than fifty years ago disunited within and defenseless, the German people have only since launched into colonial and world politics and were thus also

drawn, on a larger scale than before, into the field of foreign missions, while France has been a world power since the 17th century and ever supremely active in missionary labors; even now the German Catholics are in the minority at home and largely handicapped by poverty where they live among overwhelming numbers of dissenting neighbors (Diaspora), while, on the other hand, the wealthy French Catholic families live in the missionary traditions of former generations, and added thereto, the French nation has a leading position or monopoly in the missionary field from the prestige of the past by which the expansion of German missionary work was hampered. But the facts to be kept in view which have also been pointed out by the before-mentioned French writers: "German missionary efforts are progressing rapidly while France has little more on record than her losses." What has been achieved by Germany for the missions through organization and scientific research (two things for which Germany is justly famous), gives us the assurance that it will not prove to be a momentary burst of enthusiasm, which lacks continuity as is to be noticed not infrequently in French efforts,—but that the German missionary attainments will develop and grow steadily in the future.

Considering the difficulties and limitations before-mentioned and especially their youth, the missionary efforts of Germany have also had very favorable results in the older missionary methods. To begin with the *missionaries* themselves: No less than ten mission congregations besides four religious orders that send out mission priests and four congregations residing outside of the fatherland, have been founded in Germany since the end of the last century and are maintaining flourishing provinces. By the unceasing aid of the gifts and alms of the German Catholics they have, within two decades, built forty mission houses which by their dimensions and architectural beauty and their internal equipments bear a perennial testimony of Germany's enthusiastic love for foreign missions. A veritable army of young apostles for the heathen world grow up here and undergo a painstaking scientific and ascetic training. A short tour through the Motherhouse of the oldest German missionary society, the Society of the Divine Word, their college in Steyl or their theological Seminary in St. Gabriel near Vienna, will give an overwhelming impression of the thoroughness and perfection of the German mission houses and also of the vast sums of money the German Catholics of all classes have given and still give for this noble cause. The Society of the Divine Word, young as it is, on January 1, 1914, consisted of 1,448 alumni, 888 lay brothers, and 628 mission priests who are engaged in all parts of the globe and who conduct nine missions (Togo, Sambesi, German New Guinea, Sunda Islands, Philippines, China, Japan, Indian missions in South America and Negro missions in North Amer-

ica). In a similar manner, the German Jesuits labor in India and Japan; the German Franciscans in China, Japan, Brazil; the German Capuchins on the Caroline and Marianne Islands, and in Aramania, the German Benedictines of St. Ottilien in German East Africa and Korea; the Pallottine Fathers in Cameroon and Australia; the Oblates of Hünfeld in German Southwest Africa, British South Africa, Ceylon, Canada; the White Fathers and the Fathers of the Holy Ghost in German East Africa; the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (Hiltrup) in New Pommerania and the Marshall Islands; the Marists in Samoa and North Solomon Islands, etc. Added thereto are the many German fathers and lay brothers in the French missions, which for the most part could not keep up their work without them. Mention must be made also of the no less numerous female mission societies and sisterhoods working in the foreign missionfields. What must first be said in their praise is the peculiar aptitude for their arduous work in organization and modern methods, together with their self-sacrifice and energy. This high opinion is shared and has been expressed by the French mission Fathers, as I learned on my extensive inspection tour through Asia and Oceanica in the winter of 1913-1914. Owing to their tireless devotion and the rational methods employed, the German missions are among the most flourishing and best equipped of the world, even in the German colonies where the Protestant attempts, though financially far better cared for, have been outstripped quantitatively as well as qualitatively. (Within one generation 170,000 neophites, 60,000 catechumens and 2,000 schools with 120,000 pupils.) The same results can be witnessed on similar fields in competition with Protestantism (China and India).

The *financial* sacrifices of the German Catholics for the foreign missions are no less imposing than the heroism of the missionaries and sisters. Our opponent seems to be aware of only two money-producing mission societies in the world: the aforementioned Society for the Propagation of Faith and of the Holy Childhood of Jesus. Germany contributes annually $425,000 to the latter and $250,000 to the former, including Alsace-Lorraine as a matter of course. It is easy to explain why the amounts for the Propagation of Faith is less: though ostensibly an international organization it is exclusively under French management. Any and all suggestions coming from German sources have ever been studiously ignored. How can this Society increase among us under these conditions? (Imagine the case to be reversed, the French sending their mission contributions to Germany and leaving it to the Germans to dispose of them exclusively!) But Germany has several other mission societies which year after year contribute generously towards the mission cause: the Bavarian Ludwig-Missionsverein annually 250,000 Marks;

the Afrikaverein deutscher Katholiken (African Society of German Catholics), 70,000 Marks; the Deutsche Verein vom Heiligen Land (Palestine Society), 120,000 Marks; the Missionsvereinigung Katholischer Frauen und Jungfrauen (Mission-Union of Catholic Women and Girls), 80,000 Marks; Peter Claver Sodality, 160,000 Marks, etc.; to these must be added the auxiliary societies affiliated with the mission houses (Liebeswerk, Hilfswerk, Marienverein, etc.) which, as a rule, do not publish their accounts so that their income cannot be fixed accurately. Without danger of exaggeration it may be stated that the German mission societies as such and through their members for the missions and for the support of their institutions at home, receive every year several millions from Germany (according to my estimate, four to five millions). They accomplish it mostly by means of numerous periodicals (about 25, with 600,000 subscribers, more than France can boast of) and Almanacs (about 25 with an aggregate circulation of close to two millions), which alone is a striking proof of the great and enlightened interest which German Catholics take in the foreign missions. To the periodical missionary organs (headed by "Die Katholischen Missionen" with about 25,000 subscribers) is to be added a rich and widely-read book literature, treating of the actual and historical, the practical and the theoretical side of mission work. Through lectures, moving pictures, so-called mission feasts and mission-Sundays in the various parishes, the interest for the evangelization of the world is kindled and fostered. And the annual Catholic General Convention, renowned over all the world, has always special lectures and resolutions concerning foreign missions.

The last few years have been epochal in these respects so that it might be said a veritable *German Mission Era* had set in on the eve of the present World War. This era was ushered in by the joint pastoral letter of the German bishops assembled at the sepulchre of the Apostle of Germany (St. Boniface), in which they urged that branches of the Society of Faith be established everywhere, and by that intense mission speech of the renowned Prince Löwenstein (now fighting at the front) at the Breslau General Convention in 1909. The immediate issue was the formation of a special Mission Committee within the Central Committee of the Katholikentage and a special day set for the cause of the missions at every annual Congress. The German Colonial Congress and the first conference of the Mission Commission in 1910 gave a new impetus. In connection with this is the Jubilee Fund of the German Catholics for the Kaiser's 25th anniversary in 1913 which our monarch donated back to the Catholic missions in the German colonies (it amounted to almost $400,000). An almost feverishly active propaganda developed in mission literature (the widely circulated campaign broch-

ures, Our Lord's Last Will and Testament, by Father Fischer, S. V. D.; The World Mission of Christ and the Duty of Catholics, by Father Linckens; the missionary text books for Catholic schools by Father Schwager, Father Oderich and Professor Ditscheid; the three volumes of mission sermons by Father Huonder, S. J., and Father Streit, O. M. I.). In public life also, in the Reichstag and the press the Catholics energetically urged the recognition and support of the mission cause.

However, the most specifically German fruits and achievements produced by this mission movement are found on the fields of organization and scientific research. The practical application led to a general unification of the various professions and classes whose participation is of importance, and their specialization for the missionary cause. The *academic* propaganda concentrated its efforts on the students of the land that through them the educated classes might be won over; following the example of the student-body of Münster in 1911, the enthusiastic academicians and theologians of Tübingen, Freising, Passau, St. Peter, Freiburg, Bonn, etc., formed academic mission circles where in regular meetings the mission problems were intensely discussed and studied.

In the same manner the *Mission conference* and *union* formed by the *clergy* of Münster were introduced in other dioceses (Paderborn, Treves, Strassburg, etc.). Its object is the initiation of the clergy into a thorough understanding of the mission problems, that a systematic cultivation of the missionary spirit may be achieved among their parishioners. Shortly before the war, analogous movements were inaugurated among the Catholic teachers and merchants but had to be temporarily abandoned on account of the war. Special attention was also given to immediate urgent missionary problems, as may be seen from the *"International Missionary School Commission"* originating in 1912 during the Eucharistic Congress in Vienna, and which was about to develop into an international league for the support of school and press, especially in China, another proof that these undertakings were not exclusively German but for the benefit of all Catholic nationalities.

The scientific researches carried on simultaneously have made Germany the cradle and focus of *Mission Science.* The writer in the "Correspondant" in his article concerning this mission science has this to say about it: "Upon her entrance into the great mission movement, the German Church brought along that inborn scientific organization, which is a racial characteristic, and which will become her special contribution to the mission work of the Church." *"Germania docet,"* thus the magazine for the French clergy puts it (in the words of Cardinal Ferrari). "Germany has a scientific basis for all missionary labors, and we Frenchmen who are missionaries by instinct look upon this mission campaign

across the Rhine with wonder as on a most remarkable and unusual spectacle." It need not give surprise that one or the other French periodical, like the "Ami du Clergé," that can find no interest in these scientific methods, spoke with skeptical irony about this latest product of the German mind! But this does not change the fact that Catholic foreign mission labors, to obtain lasting results, stand in urgent need of scientific orientation and fundamentation: mission lore to understand the present, and mission history to understand the past, and also the theoretical and practical mission science. This must be followed by mission legislation and mission methodics. No doubt, missionary efforts have been treated in other countries from a literary and scientific point of view, but mission science as a special branch in its theoretical aspect has been taken up seriously by no other country but Germany.

This comprehensive scientific treatment found special support in the academic circles of the country. It began with *lectures and exercises* in the Universities, especially at the theological faculty of Münster where there is a special seminary of mission science with a well-stocked mission library. It is attended by future mission teachers and writers from the various German missionary communities and even during the strenuous present war times promovations to the Doctor's degree have taken place there. In connection with this mission seminary is the quarterly Magazine for Mission-Science ("Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft"), founded in 1911, which is the undisputed authoritative mouthpiece even in foreign and Protestant circles for its valuable contributions on all the phases of mission science. It is also the official organ of the International Institute for Mission Research (Internationales Institut für missionswissenschaftliche Forschungen) which was founded at the same time and which under the directorship of Prince Löwenstein has begun to edit scientific treatises and documents and is also at present engaged in publishing a missionary bibliography of several volumes. As the title indicates it is international in scope and among its contributors and correspondents are many authorities who are not Germans, (for evidence read the propaganda brochure published by the Caritasdruckerei in Freiburg in 1913, in French and German).

This shows that the Catholic Church of Germany is well aware that all missionary endeavors past and present, like Catholic science, must be considered from the *international* viewpoint, although at home and in the missionfields it is divided up according to countries and nations. For that very reason, however, Catholic Germany vigorously protests when one nation claims control or monopoly of mission work or takes for its exclusive domain any other field of religious activity. Catholic Germany cannot be denied the same rights and privileges other nations possess, in

the propagation of the faith and all other activities in behalf of our common mother the Holy Catholic Church. In our own day, these have become more urgent than ever, demanding the fullest exertions of all available forces. Too long Germany has endured in silence the chauvinistic overlording that would prevent it from doing its honest share of coöperation commensurate with its importance in the household of the Church, and the slanderous interpretation of its honest desires as political and national aspirations, while these same Frenchmen intermingle mission work with politics in the most intolerable manner. The German mission movement will sedulously avoid these mistakes and never attempt either to be the slave of narrow-minded politics or to usurp the holdings of other nations in these fields, but coöperate brotherly and magnanimously with all nations for the greater glory of God and His divine will regarding the evangelization of the heathen world. Only when demanded by their inability and lack of forces, shall we wish to replace others as far as our own resources permit. Despite the bitter effusions of un-Christian fanaticism of which some French mission circles have been guilty during this war, Catholic Germany has freely and nobly given assistance even to French missions. We may mention here that the official organs of the Peter Claver Sodality and the "Friends of India" contain letters of thanks by French missionaries with the most flattering acknowledgment of German generosity and large-heartedness. Therefore it is the confident hope of the German Catholics that even the horrors of this war may eventually serve the plans of Divine Providence to unite the now opposing forces in harmonious endeavors for the glory of the all embracing Kingdom of God. The German Catholics love their fatherland as ardently as the Frenchmen love the land of their birth—it is not only their right but a sacred duty—; but they willingly grant them their place "in the sun" of the Holy Mother Church and her missions; and their conduct in the trying periods of the Kulturkampf proves that the Catholics of Germany are not at all afflicted by that "Delirium germanicum."

For that reason our *outlook for the future* is not so dark and hopeless as the prognostication of our opponents. The twofold picture drawn by the French "Missionary" of the future conditions if Germany should be victorious, represents France utterly demolished for all time, the religious war hoped for by its enemies breaking out anew; Lutheranism and the Islam forever triumphant, the whole world in the mow of the "German Kultur" and knouted by its haughty ambition where might constitutes right;—on the other hand, if France and her side wins, the nations are released from the ever impending menace of German persecution and conquest, (Germany's peaceful existence has never been threat-

ened by anyone [?]), France unified and strengthened internally, redeemed and purified by the chastisement borne by all, takes up again with greater enthusiasm its glorious apostolate among the unbelievers, and its providential work of the civilization of the world;—England through the wholesome influence and comradeship on the French battlefields, now well-disposed to participate in the spreading of the Gospel;—"Christian Russia," at any rate superior to "Lutheran Germany" (!), freed from its intolerance; the Graeco-Latin culture imbued with Christianity as the spiritual nourishment for the new march to victory; the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople crowned again with the cross; and Jerusalem welcoming the crusaders of the 20th century—yea the Roman question solved! However alluring the roseate tints of this word picture the catastrophe for the work of the missions would be inevitable because all the elements of this French world-splendor are utopian.

Our conclusions force us to hold the very opposite opinion. Only by *being conquered* and humbled will France relinquish her anti-Christian policies; her triumph on the battlefields would perpetuate and intensify the persecution of Christianity. The words of our Divine Saviour: He who suffers in the body will save his soul, must be applied to this nation now hurrying forward to her doom through a twofold error. Should France emerge victoriously from this World War, her atheistic government made permanent, would continue to harass and injure the work of the Catholic missions; Protestant England will also strengthen its supremacy, and Albion has ever considered herself as the champion and protectress of Protestant missionary endeavors; Schismatic Russia that has always persecuted the Catholic religion far differently from German Lutheranism, strangling the Catholic missions in all subjugated lands; treacherous Italy which forces the Father of Christendom to be a prisoner in his own city.

But if God blesses the German weapons and if for them the war comes to a glorious issue, all these fanatic anti-Catholic forces will be effectually checked and the Catholic forces will be freed that they may develop and labor cheerfully and successfully in the holy mission work on the one hand, while the Catholics of Germany and Austria will see to it that the world interests of Holy Mother Church will be safeguarded not only by the courageous defense of their liberties and constitutional rights as they have always done, but also by entering the now thinned ranks of missionworkers and holding out the glad hand of welcome to all other nations participating in these common fields of labor.

In cheerful optimism and with a word of *peace and love* will I now conclude our discussion. From my own personal experience can I speak

of the burning wound, which has disgraced and harassed the Catholic missions for generations, when in the year before the present war French diplomacy, pleading the rights and prerogatives of her socalled protectorate, proceeded with cold brutality against the missionary School Conferences which I had established during my East Asiatic expedition with the consent and good wishes of the mission bishops of China, and a considerable proportion of French Catholic newspaperdom, instead of condemning this unwarranted interference with a purely religious affair, joined in the hateful agitation against them. But while these things happened it was very consoling and gratifying to feel and admire the genuine Catholic magnanimity with which so many messengers of the Gospel from all nations there represented—French and Belgian as well as Italian, Spanish, German,—kept in view the one common goal: the conversion of heathendom and the extension of the Kingdom of God, and despite animosities and hindrances willingly and cheerfully coöperated in all matters calculated to realize the one glorious object from whatever source the helpful suggestions might arise. And it was a great encouragement to feel and observe how the love of Holy Church and her missions common to us all had forged an *enduring bond in the union of our aspirations, hopes and endeavors* that raised us high above all petty disagreements either racial or national. And for these reasons, I feel justified in the hopeful expectation that although this *international bond* may have been lacerated and weakened by the passionate embitterments and increased prejudices of the cruel war, there will be achieved after the restoration of peace a new and stronger solidarity of all true *children of the Church and friends of the missions.* We German Catholics most assuredly will embrace every opportunity to bring this about. But we also implore our French brethren in Christ not to allow our unfortunate disagreements and the fierce national hatreds engendered by this ruthless world conflict, to prevent us from seeing our common bonds, nor to forget the glorious tasks of peace, the gospel of universal love and abiding charity as proclaimed by our missionaries in the dissemination of Christianity. Then a more wholesome and beautiful era will set in when all the children of the holy Catholic Church and all the disciples of the Crucified Redeemer will remain united firmer and more intimately than before through the common goal: the conversion of the pagan world and the extension of God's Kingdom on this earth. In this spirit we also place particular emphasis on the two great truths which our patriotic French author professes in the introduction to his Mission-Essay and which I would recommend to the serious consideration of all his countrymen: *"That no country can claim the monopoly of virtue and goodness"* and

"that one can dearly love the land of his birth without despising and hating the fatherland of other nations."

In the midst of the tempestuous torrents that have enveloped the human race of a continent,—on the material side through the murderous sway of deadly weapons while the minds of men are estranged and torn by un-Christian agitation and boundless vituperation and slander,—there remain beside the cultural and moral ideals at least two real forces for the reconciliation and unification of the Catholic world: the *universal Papacy* which since the beginning of the war extended its pontifical hand to offer mediation and peace—and the no less *universal* work of the *mission* which, borne in the bosom of the Church lovingly embraces the whole earth. We will then pray and plan that these two lodestars, Catholicity within and Catholicity without, will retain their brilliancy and serve as beacon lights during this tempestuous darkness for the French as well as for the German Catholics!

Stat Crux dum volvitur Orbis.

APPENDICES.

A. Ecclesiastical Documents Pertaining to the French Book "La Guerre Allemande et le Catholicisme."

I. Telegrams Exchanged Between the Emperor and German Prelates.

The two German cardinals, Archbishop von Hartmann of Cologne and Archbishop von Bettinger of Munich, sent the following telegram to Emperor William:

"The calumnies flung at the German fatherland and its glorious army in the French book 'The German War and Catholicism' have been a shock to us, and it is our heartfelt desire in behalf of the entire German episcopate to express to Your Majesty our painful indignation. We shall not fail to pour our complaints before the Supreme Pontiff."

Thereupon His Eminence the Archbishop of Cologne received the following reply:

"I cordially thank you and Cardinal von Bettinger for the expression of the German Episcopate's indignation in view of the disgraceful literary calumnies by which our enemies have endeavored to defame the German nation and army. These assaults, too, will redound, to the discredit of their authors, from the good conscience and moral strength wherewith the German nation defends its just cause.

WILHELM I. R."

(According to "Köln. Volkszeitung," No. 497, June 21, 1915.)

II. Extract from the Memorial of the German Bishops in Conference Assembled at Fulda, August 17, 1915, to the Holy Father.

We take the liberty to convey to Your Holiness our sentiments of grief over the publication of a book in which certain Catholic scholars, backed by the authority of bishops—for the purpose of defending their own country, as they claim—accuse the German Catholics of having deviated from the integrity of faith. It is to be feared that this procedure will be instrumental in carrying hatred and enmity even into the family of Christ which according to the will of the Savior shall unite all members by the sacred ties of peace and love. Infusing this our grief into your paternal heart, we will not cease to assist your endeavors with our

prayers and again and again to admonish the faithful entrusted to our care, by means of works of penance and charity even towards the enemy to appeal to divine grace for the shortening of the times of horror.

(According to "Köln. Volkszeitung," No. 858, October 19, 1915.)

III. Extract from the Reply of His Holiness Pope Benedict XV, of September 6, 1915.

In the midst of the vortex which shakes with irresistible violence the fairest lands of Europe, even endangering their existence, you, beloved son and venerable brothers, will readily comprehend the sentiments filling our heart when we hold before our vision the killing of thousands of people as a daily occurrence and the sad visitation of so many nations. The more misery is increased by the continuance of war, the stronger grows the desire for peace. It is our prayer that this universal desire may lead each and all along the royal road which terminates in a peace born of forebearing and humane charity. Those, indeed, would deviate from this road, who perhaps may entertain the belief that they are at liberty to belittle through speech and pen the actions of another nation and who, in the words of the Apostle (Gal. 5, 26), "provoking one another, envying one another," add new fuel to the flames of passion, instead of smothering them with justice of judgment and benevolence of mind. Beseeching our Lord, therefore, to grant our fervent prayer for peace,—a peace which is in accordance with the demands of justice and the dignity of the nations,—we admonish all Catholics to abstain from discord and, united by spiritual brotherhood, to assist—each and every one of them—in bringing about the restoration of such a peace.

(According to "Köln. Volkszeitung," No. 858, October 19, 1915.)
(Original text in "Acta Apostolicae Sedis," No. 16, of October 6, 1915, p. 460 et seq.)

B.
Appendix to the American Edition.

I. Was the Invasion of Belgium Justified?

Appendix to Chapter 5 (p. 87 ff).

Was the German Invasion of Belgium Justified?

By Louis Bonvin, S. J., Professor at Canisius College, Buffalo, N. Y.*

There is hardly another question bearing on the World War, which has received so much attention in the public press and in private conversation as the question asked in the title of our article, namely, was the German invasion of Belgium justified. However, despite—or shall I say, on account of the copious literature on the subject, an agreement has not been reached and very many, proceeding from wrong premises, entertain to this day very unclear views.

THE STATE A MORAL PERSON.

The reason, or one of the main reasons, why so many have not yet found the correct solution of the question is because they fail to apply to the conduct of states the principles that apply to the conduct of private persons and are in their case the criterion of right and wrong. States are moral persons and are governed by essentially the same moral laws which govern the actions of private individuals.

To make things clear, let us begin with an analogy, without as yet making the application to Germany. A man sees himself suddenly threatened on all sides by ravenous beasts; before him extends the field of his neighbor; if he trespasses upon this property of another, he may hope to save himself; otherwise he will, in all probability, fall a prey to his pursuers. Does this predicament justify him in crossing through the field, *even against the will of the owner?* Who would not answer this question in the affirmative. The underlying principles may be found in any textbook of moral philosophy or theology. It is universally taught that in a case of extreme necessity, that is, when self-preservation demands it, it is lawful for a man to encroach upon another's property in order to free himself from his necessity.

"In case of extreme necessity all goods are common property; they are then no more the property of the one than of the other" (Noldin, Summa Theol. Mor. II, No. 414 and 359). Temporal goods have been

*Rev. Fr. Bonvin's critical examination of the Belgian events has been published in the "Buff. Volksfreund" (Nov. 7, 1914 and succeeding issues). His most important article has been widely quoted in the German war literature (cf. above, p. 105) as well as in French and English periodicals. Since the arguments against Fr. Bonvin's contentions were based on distorted and misconstrued extracts, we deemed it advisable to publish a verbal translation of the essential parts of the article.—Editor Am. Edition.

created by the author of nature for the purpose that man may provide himself from them with the things necessary for the conservation of life. Nature herself, therefore, gives the individual in extreme necessity the right to use those goods which are necessary for the relief of this necessity. "Thus, for instance, in danger of life one may use another's horse for flight, even though the proprietor should thereby suffer loss." (Lehmkuhl, Theol. Mor. I, 937.)

Also the positive law, "the criminal as well as the civil law of all civilized states allows one who is in necessity and danger to use on his own authority the goods of an altogether disinterested third person, in as far as this is required as a protection against the danger. We may feel sympathy for the third person thus affected; yet he must endure the unwelcome encroachment upon his property, like any other undeserved misfortune. It may be some comfort for him that he will be indemnified for the damage suffered. . . . And this encroachment upon the property of another is not only excused by law; nay, he who acts thus, has an undisputable *right* to act as he does. His neighbor would be in the wrong, if he were not willing to permit the invasion of his property, and the invader might lawfully carry his point by force." (Dr. C. Goesch.) Here is what the *Bürgerliche Gesetzbuch des Deutschen Reiches,* paragraph 904, for example, says on this point: "The owner of a thing is not justified in forbidding the action of another upon that thing, if such action is necessary for warding off a present danger; if the damage is relatively great compared with that which results to the owner from the action, the owner may demand indemnity for the resulting damage." Lehmkuhl, furthermore, calls attention to the fact that since the owner "is not justified" in resisting, the other who was unjustly hindered, might be entitled to indemnity. "The *concepts of self-defence and of necessity* as recognized by criminal and by civil jurisprudence, exclude, also from the sphere of international law, the unlawfulness of such violation of another's property. Even those writers who maintain that the concept of necessity may not be applied to international law, concede the right of *self-preservation* to a state that is threatened. Thus the same concept is admitted within narrower limits. But should the state really wait till it finds itself confronted with the immediate danger of destruction?" (Von Liszt, an authority on international law, Völkerrecht, 1907, p. 197.)

THE ANALOGY APPLIED.

Let us now apply to our case what we have thus far said. In the beginning of August, 1914, Germany, without having given her enemies a just cause for attacking her, sees herself threatened in her very existence

by enemies who have either openly declared themselves as such, or whose hostile attitude can be foreseen with certainty, threatened by at least three world powers—by half the world. In fact, hostile statesmen will soon openly declare "that Germany's life or theirs is at stake;" that they will not rest until she is "dismembered," "crushed," and "forever helpless and prostrate." If she advances against the French army only through her own territory, she will be held back by an exceptionally strong line of fortifications; in the meantime, she would be crushed in the East by the Russian giant; a march through Belgium, on the other hand, gives her a chance of warding off the French foe, so that she may then turn against the slower colossus of the East. This even the English Member of Parliament, Ramsay McDonald, calls "the only possible move for Germany in a war with France and Russia." A march through Belgium proves itself all the more necessary for the self-preservation of Germany, since the German government, according to its declaration, knew for certain that the French plan of war provided for a passage of the French army through Belgium, in which case the French would have attacked the German flank.

Russia was ready for war sooner than was expected. But the military genius of Von Hindenburg, by taking advantage of the mistakes and the military mismanagement on the part of the Russians, succeeded in warding off the Russian peril. This, however, was an extraordinary success which could not have been foreseen. The German general staff and the government owed it to their country, for whose safety they are responsible, to choose the surest means. How much the transfer of troops to the Eastern war arena has impaired the efficiency of the army on the French battlefield, is shown by the prolonged and still undecided struggle going on there.

THE RIGHT OF SELF-PRESERVATION.

Thus, according to the above quoted principles, the state of *necessity* and the right of *self-preservation* make it lawful for Germany to take the route through Belgium. But if she has a right to this, it follows that Belgium has no right to refuse her this passage; Belgium has only a claim to indemnity, and this is expressly promised by Germany.

It is true that more than a half century ago Germany, or rather Prussia only, together with France and England, had pledged itself to respect the *neutrality* of Belgium. *Is this perhaps a special reason that makes it unlawful for Germany in the present war to trespass upon Belgian territory?* Not at all; *even in the face of such a treaty the right of self-preservation remains in force.* Every system of moral

philosophy and moral theology teaches likewise that "a human law (a treaty) in general does not bind, when its observance entails grave damages" (Lehmkuhl, Theol. Mor. I, No. 155). In our case, however, the very existence of a state is at stake; the impending danger is, therefore, not only great, but the greatest that can befall a state. It is another universal and acknowledged principle regarding contracts that "their binding force is to be judged according to the reasonably presumed intention of the contracting parties, so that it does not extend to unforeseen circumstances, which greatly modify the object of the contract. When circumstances are changed to such an extent, the obligation of the contract ceases." (Lehmkuhl, l. c. No. 1069.) Now it is evident that Germany, not any more than the other contracting parties, intended to bind herself to abide by the neutrality compact, even under circumstances where her very existence is at stake.

In accordance with the moral principles just set forth, also the English statesman, Gladstone, in the year 1870 declared before the House of Commons: "I am not able to subscribe to the doctrine of those who have held in this house what plainly amounts to an assertion that the simple fact of the existence of a guarantee is binding on every party of it, irrespective altogether of the particular position in which it may find itself at the time when the occasion for acting on the guarantee arises."

BELGIUM RENOUNCED NEUTRALITY.

Furthermore, the power which guarantees neutrality is no longer under obligation to the neutralized state, if the latter itself gives up neutrality. "The neutralized state forfeits the protection due to it on the ground of neutralization, as soon as, in time of peace, it makes treaties that may oblige it to give up its neutrality in favor of a future war party." (Dr. Goesch.) Besides, one of the contracting parties violating the neutrality compact, may not justly pose before another of the parties as the guardian of sacred treaties and their avenger. But both these principles apply to our case. *Belgium* herself has given up her neutrality in favor of France and England, while *England* as well as France made arrangements with Belgium for an attack on Germany through neutralized Belgian territory. Recently proofs have been accumulating for the truth of what the German imperial chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, said: "We know for certain that the French plan of war provided for a march through Belgium to attack the unprotected Rhine provinces." "Germany was compelled to march into Belgium, because it had to forestall the intended advance of the French, and because Belgium was only waiting for this advance, to join the French."

By forming a coalition of the most powerful states, half of the world, against Germany, attacking her on all sides, these states put Germany in such a position that to save herself she had to pass over Belgian territory. They knew that, and therefore made arrangements with Belgium. Those, therefore, who morally forced her into this position, must take the responsibility of the violation of the neighboring territory and its neutrality; they are the violators *in causa.*

From all that has been said, it follows that Germany did nothing unlawful; that she did not really act against the stipulations of international law when for the sake of self-preservation she forced her way through Belgium. And since the present World War, as far as Germany is concerned, is a just war, a war that has been forced upon her, she can exclaim with the *"Historisch-politische Blätter":* "Thank God, the responsibility for what is to come will not rest with us or with the empire that is in alliance with us. Surely there is no cause juster than ours, and because it is just, we say with full trust and confidence in Heaven's aid: 'The God of old still lives.'"

II. An English View of the Activities of German Catholics.

Appendix to Chapter 17 and 19.

"Catholic Social Work in Germany."

Fortunately, the *organized* efforts of the French Catholics to discredit their German co-religionists, have not been imitated by the Catholics of England. But some writers of note and especially a number of Catholic periodicals in England and Canada even eclipsed the passionate diatribes of the French Committee. It is but a short time since English writers spoke very enthusiastically of the activities of the German Catholics. We take the liberty of reprinting, as a fitting epilogue of the defense, the appreciative words of the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Salford.* He wrote as follows:

"We have heard much of late years about an *entente,* as it is called, between this country and one or the other foreign nation. Certainly in so far as such *ententes* lead to better understanding and more friendly relations between the various nations of the civilized world, and are therefore a guarantee of abiding peace, they deserve the warm support of every good citizen and in a particular manner of every Christian who professes himself by his very name to be a follower of the Prince of Peace.

"But I have long felt that there is one *entente* which is of more value to us than others, not merely from political motives, but from the point of view of our own moral and religious advantage: I refer to that with Germany. For I believe that we have much that is good to learn from the German people: their strong religious instincts, their inborn respect for order and authority, their earnestness and seriousness of character and aim, their love of domestic life, their devotion to the 'Fatherland'—all these are precious traits of national character that we in this country cannot but derive profit from by knowing and imitating.

"It is especially to us Catholics that a more intimate acquaintance with Germany, and particularly with German Catholicism, must be of the greatest value. The sterling worth of this German Catholicism is well known all over the Church. Those of us who have seen it in its home have long been filled with that conviction. Tried in the fire of the *Kulturkampf,* German Catholicism has emerged the sterling, solid, practical, progressive organization that we all admire.

*Charles D. Plater, S. J., M. A. Oxon., "Catholic Social Work in Germany." With a Preface by the Bishop of Salford. London, Sands & Co. (B. Herder, St. Louis), 1909.

"But it is above all in the domain of social activity and social reform that Catholic Germany has set us a model worthy of all our attention and emulation. Therein we see Applied Christianity at its best. How good that best is will be gathered from the stimulating pages of the Rev. C. Plater, S. J., that follow. They are both historical and descriptive. We have had in this country (England) a considerable amount of theoretical writing and discussion, preaching and lecturing, on the great Social Problems. Here we have practical solutions at work. The 'campaign' through which the Author pilots us, from the first 'call to arms' to the final review of the 'German tactics' seems to me one of the most stimulating experiences which our social thinkers and workers—and not Catholic ones only—can enjoy, and for this reason I warmly commend this book to them, feeling convinced that it is likely to be productive of practical good quite out of proportion to the modest bulk of the volume."

LOUIS CHARLES, Bishop of Salford.

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